National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Slavery and Freedom.

MR. SEWARD'S SPEECH
ON THE COMPROMISE BILL,

In Senate, Tuesday, July 2.

The Compromise bill being under consideration, Mr. Seward having obtained the floor, spoke as follows:

Mr. President—If an alien in our land should chance to enter here during these high debates, he would ask whether California was a stranger and an enemy, or an unbidden and unwelcome intruder, or a fugitive, powerless and portionless, and therefore importunate, or an oppressor and scourge of mankind and therefore hateful and dangerous. We should be obliged to answer, No! California yielded to persuasion rather than to conquest. She has renounced her lineage, language and ancient loyalty. She has brought us to the banks of streams which flow over precious sands, and at the base of mountains which yield massive gold. She delivers into our hand the key that unlocks the long coveted treasures of the Eastern world. California refuses only to let us buy and sell each other within her domain, so rich in all the elements of legitimate commerce. She invites us to forego an unjust, injurious and inglorious dominion over a caste, and to extend the sway of peace, of arts and of freedom over nations beyond the seas still slumbering under the mingled reign of barbarian superstition and unalleviated despotism. The very head and front of her offending hath this extent.

The President of the United States recommends, nevertheless, that California shall be admitted unconditionally, while a Committee of the Senate insists on conditions.

I prefer the President's suggestion; but not merely because it is his, although I truly honor his patriotism and fully confide in his wisdom. Nor do I prefer his suggestion out of disrespect to the Statesmen by whom it is opposed. My veneration for them has been abundantly manifested heretofore, and needs no display of protestations now. We are in a frame of things disjointed, and in the confusion resulting from a severance of parties and new conjunction of Statesmen, each of us is obliged to rely on the guidance of his own judgment and conscience.

I submit, sir, that the conditions are unreasonable, injurious, and oppressive in regard to California. So far as they are found in the bill before us, they are. 1st. The establishment of a Territorial Government in New Mexico, silent concerning Slavery: 2d, The establishment of a like Government in Washington: 3d, A Compromise of a border dispute between New Mexico and Texas. The garment of Compromise thus quilted of various fabrics with artistic skill is ingeniously pieced out with collateral conditions in a Report of two other bills concerning Slavery in the District of Columbia, the recapture of fugitive slaves, and other national interests or pretensions of Slavery.

It is not contended that California needs aid from these conditions nor that they can give it. California is taxed for superfluous power to draw the dependent measures into port, which otherwise would founder and be lost. This forced condition, therefore, hinders and tends to defeat the admission of California.

Why is California subjected to this embarrassment? Does she come without right? She has a Treaty. Is that Treaty denied or questioned? No! it is unanimously affirmed. Can California abide delay? No! her anomalous condition not only appeals to our justice, but touches the very virtue of compassion within us. Why, then, should California be kept waiting while we make a circuit throughout the entire orbit of Slavery? California neither brought the States into confederation, nor constructed the Constitution—she neither planted Slavery in the Slave States, nor uprooted it in the Free States. She is not found by the side of Texas invading New Mexico, nor allied with New Mexico in resisting Texas.

She is guiltless equally of buying and selling, of holding and emancipating, of reclaiming and of harboring slaves anywhere. She has neither vote nor speech here nor elsewhere where this angry strife can be composed. She has severed at a blow and forever, the loose political connection, the only connection she ever had with Utah and New Mexico. The slave States indeed insist on a right to colonize new territories with a caste. But all agree that the community in any such territory may establish a Constitution prohibiting caste. California, already colonized, has done this already; and her maturity is not well questioned, although it has been as rapid and as bewildering as the presentation of a midsummer night's dream. There is, therefore, neither community nor connection nor even congruity between the admission of California and the conditions demanded. It is binding Eros to Anteros, confiding youth to querulous and wrangling age, the struggling hind to revening hounds.

We were told long ago that California would save time by yielding to this most unjust combination. We have seen the error of that hope. We are making the overland journey of 7,000 miles between the Pillars of Hercules, when we might have crossed the Straits of Gibraltar on a smooth sea in six hours.

We were told that a minority in another part of the Legislature might prevent the admission of California, and even bring the South to a dead stand. But it must work in its own democratic and constitutional way, or must cease to work at all. No one nor more of the States can assume the responsibility of arresting the Government by faction. *Optimis auspicis qui quae pro republica, quae contram umpublican contra auspicia fecci.*

I submit now that the conditions demanded are equally unreasonable, injurious and oppressive in regard to the other parties affected by the combination, viz: Texas, New Mexico, Utah and the District of Columbia.

Each of these parties ought to be regarded as asking only a just award, and Congress is to be deemed ready to make a just one and no other. Such an award can be made only by bestowing a distinct and separate consideration on each claim. The same principle of Dialectic Philosophy which forbids multifariousness of issues, and confusion of parties in the administration of justice, condemns incongruous combinations in legislation.

The bill before us seems adapted to enable Senators to speak on one side and to vote on the other; to comply with instructions and to evade them; to vote for the line of 36 deg. and 30 min. and to vote against it; to support the Wilmot Proviso, and yet to defeat its application to the only territories open to its introduction. I solicit—if stronger language were courteous, I might demand—from the majority here, a subdivision of the bill, to enable me to vote effectually for what I approve, without voting equally for what my own judgment, concurring with instructions, condemns, and thus to place myself where I should invite all others to place themselves, under exact and full responsibility to their States and to the People.

When I leave the interests of Texas to the care of her honorable and excellent Senators, I must be allowed to think that their consent to this bill betrays a want of confidence in her claims or in the justice of Congress. A just claim ought not to need an unjust combination. Those who assume that Texas has a valid title to all of New Mexico east of the Rio Grande, as high as the 42d parallel, will necessarily regard that State as surrendering, for a pecuniary equivalent, an extensive region effectively secured to Slavery, to the equivocations of this Compromise. Those, on the contrary, who regard the pretensions of Texas in New Mexico as groundless, will as certainly protest against the surrender of 70,000 square miles of soil pregnant with liberty to the hazards of this adjustment. Both of these parties, I think, must agree that the United States ought not to pay Texas the equivalent unless her title is good, and that if her title is good, then the United States have no constitutional power to buy her territory. If they may buy a part of Texas for purposes not defined in the Constitution, they may buy the whole. If they may buy the territory of a Slave State to make it Free, they may equally buy the soil of a Free State to sterilize with Slavery. If it be replied that the title is in dispute, then the transaction changes character. The equivalent is paid for peace, and Texas is not yet lifted up so high, nor the United States brought down so low, as to obtain my consent to so humiliating a traffic.

I have heretofore said that I could vote to pay the debt of Texas on the ground that the repudiation of it by the United States in the agreement of Annexation was fraudulent. But Texas seems to prefer that we should buy domain and dominion from her rather than pay her debts. She must be content, to satisfy us concerning the cardinal points in the bargain, viz:

First: *The reasonableness of the amount to be paid.*

Secondly: *The value of the equivalent we are to receive.*

Thirdly: *The title of the vender.*

Fourthly: *The use to which the territory is be applied.*

First. How much are we to pay? The sum is set down in blank, and the blank kept open. The host Achilles keeps thicket here. A philosopher replied to a man who asked leave to see what he carried under his cloak?" "I carry it there that you may not see it."

Well, we are obliged to assume that Texas is to be paid more than her claim is worth, because she will not trust to a distinct and independent negotiation. The payment is a condition of the admission of California; and thus we see California, the desire of the nation and the envy of the world, reduced by the Senate of the United States to the humiliation of chaffering with money-changers and stock-jobbers, continually baiting her offers with richer rewards to obtain her admission into the Union.

The extent and value of the acquisition are equally unsatisfactory. When the question is on the sum to be paid, Texas owns nearly all New Mexico, but when it comes on the domain to be obtained, it turns out that we are to cede to Texas a part of that province to save the rest. Surely if we concede to Texas the admiration her representatives require, they must admit that she knows how to coin our admiration into gold.

The Title.—It is beyond dispute that the territory which Texas offers was from time immemorial an integral part of New Mexico, and that not an acre of it ever was in the possession of Texas. It is equally clear that the United States found it in the possession of Mexico, and conquered and bought it, and holds it by treaty solemnly executed. It is as certain that Texas never conquered it, never bought it and has no treaty concession to show for it.

But Texas insists that she has an equitable title. She asserted, I think, in 1826 by a law on her statute book, that her boundary should be the 42d parallel. That is she declared her purpose to conquer so much of New Mexico. But she never executed nor even attempted to execute that purpose. She came into the United States without it. Her statute was, therefore, mere *orutum fulmen*. And the United States in the Articles of Annexation refused to commit themselves to the claim of Texas. Subsequently the United States waged war against Mexico, not for the claim of Texas, but for other causes, and being thus engaged, accepted New Mexico and California as indemnities for the expenses of the contest, after paying fifteen millions of dollars for their excess in value. Thus, the United States, free from obligation to Texas, acquired the Territory of New Mexico, making the conquest and paying the whole consideration alone. The claim of Texas is as groundless in equity as by the strict rules of law. The claim of Texas is just as good to the whole of California as to New Mexico.

Nor is the proposition more satisfactory in regard to the purposes to which the Territory is to be applied. I am satisfied that the soil of New Mexico is free soil now, by the operation of unrepealed Mexican laws. I know that it would be less safe if this bill were passed; the bill would raise a cloud upon the question; I prefer rather to leave New Mexico as it is.

New Mexico has no Representative here. Every phase of this Compromise exhibits a dismemberment of her territory, and yet she is to receive no equivalent. Texas has already a vast domain of surprising fertility; New Mexico is less expansive and comparatively sterile. This bill, nevertheless, literally applies the Scripture: "He that hath, to him shall be given; and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath."

This perversion of right proceeds upon the ground that either New Mexico has no certain title or that she has no political Government to defend it.

Sir, New Mexico was a distinct Colony of Spain. New Mexico was a State in the Republic of Mexico, and afterwards was a political Territory in that Republic. She was never less than that. We found her in that condition and character. She sustains that character now. Only her allegiance is transplanted to the United States, while some of the powers of Government suspended by conquest remain in obevance. She is a Republic according to the definition of Cicero; "Res publica res populi, coitus multitudinis juris consensu et utilitatis communis societas."

New Mexico has domain, population, resources and qualified dominion, arts, customs, laws, and religion. She holds these physical and moral elements of a state subordinate to the United States, but nevertheless distinctly and apart from all other communities. New Mexico, moreover, has founded her institutions on the principle of the common origin of man and the common government of God; and thus she possesses the first, last and chief element of Democratic or Republican States. Impartial Civil Liberty, that element which favors the creation of wealth without which a State must be powerless, the equalization of property without an approximation to which a State is exposed to oppression, the diffusion of knowledge without which Republican Institutions cannot be preserved, and the development of strength, courage and enterprise, without which a State cannot flourish. New Mexico has adopted the system that is best adapted to maintain war, and the system that is best adapted to secure peace. New Mexico, therefore, might well have aspired, even under Mexican sway, and much more may aspire under the fostering care of the United States, to such greatness as the Free States in this Union have attained—such greatness as is attainable by purely democratic States only.

New Mexico, pressed by the encroachments of Texas, and by the jealousy of the Slave States, implores from us protection of her Territory, and of her Constitution. This bill of Compromise, compromises her claims by dividing her territory right and left, boldly assigning a part to undisguised Slavery, and the rest insidiously to exposed Freedom. Sir, if I concur in giving any Government to New Mexico, it must be as good a one as she has already. Although the drama of our conquest in Mexico falls into successive acts, conducted by different performers, it is, nevertheless, one whole transaction; and if this bill shall pass, that transaction, so far as New Mexico is concerned, will be the conquest of a Free Republic, and the conversion of it in whole or in part to a Slave State.

What is New Mexico, that she should be thus wronged? An unoffending rival prostrate at our feet. I pray you, Senators, for the sake, if not of justice, at least of magnanimity, to exercise your power over her by sparing her, to punish her by forgiving her the crime of loving Liberty too well. Her ancient Charter contains the following words, established by the consent of mankind, as the foundation of all true government, which Jefferson made our own:

"All men naturally were born free, and were by privilege above all the creatures, born to command and not to obey earthly authority not derived from their own consent."

That Charter is in our hands. If we erase all that out, and give the Charter back to New Mexico, a mutilated and lifeless thing, we shall have repeated the crime of the partition of Poland, the crime of the subversion of the recent brief but brilliant Republic of Italy; we shall have emulated the Stuart who seized the Charters of the free Corporations of England, and thereby lost a throne, and shall have surpassed the Guelph who interpolated taxation, without representation, into the Constitution of Britain, and thereby lost the empire which we enjoy. Sir, it would be an act so unjust and so tyrannical, that it would, upon the principles of our separation from Great Britain, work a forfeiture of our title altogether. Hear what the good Las Casas said to the Emperor Charles V. concerning these very possessions:

"Notwithstanding your grant of all this country from the Pope, and your title by conquest, you have yet no right over them, unless you do, in the first place, as the principal end, regard their good. The reason is that regard is to be had to the principle and cause for which a superior or an universal Lord is set over them, which is their good and profit, and not that it should turn to their destruction and ruin; for if that should be there is no doubt but that from henceforward that power would be tyrannical, and unjust, as tending more to the interest and benefit of that Lord than to the public good and profit of the subjects, which according to natural reason and the laws of God and man is abhorred and deserves to be abhorred."

Sir, I beg those citizens of the metropolis in the State, from which I came, who have requested me to vote for this bill, to consider it in these aspects, and then to "examine me, and say how look I that I should seem to be lacking in justice and humanity so much as this fact comes to."

But it is said that the ordinance of '87 is unnecessary in New Mexico, and therefore is an abstraction, and that it gives offence.

I cannot yield implicit faith to those who assure me that the peculiarities of soil and climate in New Mexico exclude Slavery. They are combined with other Statesmen who deny that point, and this bill concedes the point itself. It expressly covenants to admit New Mexico as a Slave State if she shall come in that character. I cannot surrender a just and benevolent purpose to arguments which knit contradictions as closely as words can lie together. I know that there are slaves at this moment in Utah, and I know, moreover, that the discovery of a few flakes of gold, or of a few grains of silver, or even of a few clumps of coal, in the unexplored recesses of New Mexico, would be followed by a new revelation of the will of the Almighty in regard to it.

Sir, perhaps those who excuse this measure, can point me to a tyrant who ever deprived his subjects of what he deemed necessary for them. Nero thought one neck would be more than enough for the Roman people when he wished that they had but one that he might destroy the body politic at a blow. Perhaps they can point me to any act conferring or declaring Human Rights, that was not an abstraction. It was observed by one of the founders of the Commonwealth of England that the promulgation of those rights had always

"Been in terms not concrete, but abstract."

Our own experience is the same. There is the Declaration of Independence, with its solemn recital of the natural equality of men and of the inalienability of their essential rights. There is the Constitution of the United States, beginning with a sublime summary of the objects and ending with its jealous bill of personal rights. What were these but abstractions?

There is the same bill of rights in every Constitution, and even the Constitutions of many of the slave States hopefully assert abstractions of equality which for want of only a complete development of political justice, are not yet reduced to the concrete by established laws.

Perhaps, moreover, the apologists can show me some act declaratory of Human Rights that did not give offence. The tyrant of France took umbrage at the noble motto which Algernon Sidney inscribed in the album of the King of Denmark?

"*Manus haec inimica tyrannis.*
"*Euse petit placidam sab Libertate quitem.*"

Nay; Algernon Sidney expiated with his life the offence of publishing, as mere abstractions, the fundamental principles of our own Constitution. And among them was the Wilmot Proviso, thus expressed by that immortal patriot:

"The liberty of one man cannot be limited or diminished by one or by any number of men, and none can give away the right of another."

Equal justice always excites fear, and therefore always gives offence; otherwise its way would be smooth and its sway universal. The abstractions of Human Rights are the only permanent foundations of society. It is by referring to them that men determine what is *established* because it is RIGHT in order to *uphold it forever*, and what is *right* only because it is *established* in order that they may lawfully *change* it in accordance with the increase of knowledge and the progress of reason.

The abstraction now in question, is the right of all the members of a State to equal political freedom. That is the Wilmot Proviso; that is the proviso of freedom, call it by whatsoever name you will. If it ever was right at any time, in any place, under any circumstances, it is right always, in all places, and under all circumstances. It can be renounced safely nowhere. Certainly New Mexico is not the region, nor is hers the soil nor hers the clime where it should be renounced. New Mexico is the very field of the contest.

If we surrender here where we have all the vantage ground, where else shall we find ground in which to make resistance.

We have taken a breathing spell from Annexation of Territory, to divide the gains. This division once made, no matter how, the national instinct—an instinct fostered by democratic sentiments and sympathies, and invigorated by martial ambition, will hurry us on in a career that presents scarce formidable obstructions. Whatever seemed attractive to the slave States in Louisiana, in Florida, in Texas, in New Mexico, and in California, is surpassed in the Valley of Mexico, in Yucatan, in Cuba, in Nicaragua, in Guatemala, and in other States of Central America. There are fields native to the Tobacco plant, to the Rice plant, to the Cotton plant, and to the Sugar cane and the tropical fruits; and there are even mines of silver and of gold. There the climate disposes to indolence, indolence to luxury, and luxury to Slavery. There, those who can read the Wilmot Proviso only in the rigors of perpetual winter, or in arid sands, will fail to discern its inhibition. Our pioneers are already abroad in these inviting regions. Our capital is making passages through them from ocean to ocean; and within ten years these passages will be environed by American communities, surpassing in power and wealth, if not in numbers, the unsettled and unenterprising States now existing there. You will say that National moderation will prevent further Annexation. But National moderation did not hold us back from the Mississippi, nor from the Nueces, nor from the Rio Grande, nor from the coast of the Pacific ocean. The virtue grows weaker always as the nation grows stronger.

The demand of the slave States for a division line of 36 deg. 30 min., or elsewhere across the continent, between Slavery in the South and Freedom in the North, betrays the near expectation of these conquests. The domestic production and commerce in slaves will supplant the African slave trade, and new slave States will surround the Gulf of Mexico and cover its islands. These new States, combined with slave States already existing, will constitute a slave Empire, whose seat of commerce on the Crescent Levee will domineer not only over the southern portion of the continent, but through the Mississippi and its far reaching tributaries, over the valley between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains. This, Sir, is the dream of the slaveholder, and this is the interpretation thereof. I know full well that it is woven of the stuff which all "dreams are made of." I know how hopeless would be the attempt to establish and to maintain such States, and an Empire composed of such States. But I know that nothing seems to Slavery impossible, after advantages already won, and that calamities distant, and therefore divided, will not deter it from the prosecution of its purpose, or extinguish the hope of success.

There is a sound maxim which teaches that every Government is perpetually degenerating toward corruption, from which it must be rescued at successive periods by the resuscitation of its first principles and the re-establishment of its original Constitution. The blood is not more native to the heart than the principle of the equality of men contained in the Ordinance of '87 to the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution of the United States confers no right upon Congress to deprive men of their natural rights and inalienable liberty. I shall, therefore, insist upon applying the Proviso not only when it is necessary to save a Territory from Slavery, but even when its application might be waived, as a means of preserving and renewing the Constitution itself. It cannot be bad political husbandry to stir the earth and apply the fresh mold to the roots of the vine our forefathers planted, when its branches are spreading themselves abroad and clustering upon the States which surround us.

Cherishing these opinions, I have struggled to extend the ordinance of '87 over New Mexico. If I fail in that, I shall not then surrender it by entering into the riddling covenant contained in this bill, but shall fall back, as I did in the case of California, upon the people of the Territory, and leave New Mexico in the mean time under the protection of her ancient laws, deeming her more safe in resting free, though without guard, in open danger than inclosed in a suspected safety. This, sir, is non-intervention—such non-intervantion as you and I can practice and can justify. Not voluntary, self-imposed non-intervention, to betray or expose Freedom, but compulsory non-intervention, when all intervention to save it had failed. The President anticipated that failure through the known discordance between the two Houses of Congress, as we all might well have anticipated it. And therefore he recommended the alternative without an unnecessary trial. It would have been wise for the slave States to have adopted it then. It would be wise for the Senate to adopt it now. If we reject it a little longer, we shall only reach it at last through the necessity which he so well foresaw. When that time comes, he will have his triumphant vindication, for then it will be seen that he did the most for Harmony and for Freedom when to dull and prejudiced apprehensions he seemed to be doing nothing.

I need only indicate the application of these remarks to Utah.

The District of Columbia, the offspring of the Republic, is cherished equally by all the States; and if the destinies of the nation are correctly apprehended, the Capital must one day stand in dignity, and for the liberal arts, without a parallel. But it yet lacks one element of prosperity, the freedom of labor, and one element of greatness, the dignity of labor. Its atmosphere suppresses, although it cannot smother, the love of liberty, which is a public, universal and undying affection. Why should the great interests of the capital be cast into the balance to bring up the already buoyant scale of California? The only reason is that you have decided to overload that scale with the weight of your gratuity to Texas, and of the suppression of Freedom in Utah and New Mexico?

Such, Sir, is the manner in which California, Texas, New Mexico, Utah and Columbia are wronged by casting their interests into the misshapen chaos of fair-seeming forms and mischiefs manifold, which constitutes this extraordinary scheme of compromise and adjustment.

The scheme has engrossed the Senate six months to the exclusion of nearly every other measure. If it ever shall reach the House of Representatives, its most auspicious promise there is a rejection, to be followed by a final disagreement between the two Houses. And this will be the sum of the History of the First Session of the Thirty-first Congress—the history of an attempt to break in one compact and twisted bundle of fagots so strong and gnarled that they could hardly be snapped singly—an attempt to overcome reason, passion and prejudice altogether, instead of engaging reason alone.

We were driven and harrassed into this strange proceeding by alarms of danger to the Republic. Well, Sir, California, New Mexico, Utah and the District of Columbia, were no sooner crowded and crammed into this unwieldy, rickety ark—through distrust of the customary vehicles of legislation—to weather out the dark and dangerous storm—than the storm passed away like a cloud in Autumn.—The ominous Kalends of June have come, and with the extra-constitutional assemblage at Nashville, but not its invading fleets and hostile armies. So also the crisis in the House of Representatives has come without disclosing the steep ruin which was apprehended. The political elements have subsided from their wild uproar. Why not now resume the voyage in separate vessels, and following the Presidential chart, make the port speedily and in safety.

The answer is that the Commonwealth is laboring of wounds which threaten its safety. It cannot be improper to apply to each of them a test that will search it to the bottom.

The first of them is the alleged neglect to surrender fugitive slaves. This wound bleeds afresh at every return of Congress to the Capitol.

"Thammuz came next behind,
Whose annual wounds in Lebanon allured
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a Summer's day."

Sir, it is not proved here that three fugitives a year are withheld against lawful demand; nay, I think it is not proved that even one is so withheld. The value of what is called slave property, because the laws of slave States make it property, is not impaired one dollar. Strength, Beauty and Youth bring their accustomed prices. What, then, is the evil? The people of the free States hesitate at the execution of the act of 1793 among them, without an adequate provision for distinguishing between the real fugitive and the free citizen—between surrendering the unhappy slave and kidnapping the still more unhappy freemen. And what is your remedy? To give the form of a trial after the surrender in the State to which the alleged fugitive is conveyed. Sir, this will only aggravate the exaggerated evil. Are you, then, prepared to confess that this proud Republic approaches its downfall because a slave sometimes finds a refuge under it in spite of its laws?

The next of these evils is the agitation about Slavery in the District of Columbia. There are only a thousand slaves here all told. The People of the free States remonstrate against their being held in hopeless bondage; but they wait patiently until the mind of the Nation can be moved to abolish it. What answer does this bill give to these remonstrances? It proposes to remove the slave shambles across the Potomac, and in return for that concession, exacts a guarantee of the continuance of Slavery, until Maryland shall consent to its abolition. Sir, this is healing the wound by plunging deeper into it, the knife that made it. Shall we then authorize the newly returned Minister from Russia to give to its Imperial master the gratifying intelligence that this Republic, the equipoise of Despotism, hastens to a fall by a cause so inadequate and so inglorious as the bare possibility that 1 000 slaves may, some five, ten or twenty years hence, be redeemed from bondage!

The next of these evils is the encroachment of Texas upon New Mexico. Well, sir, we will leave the Territory of New Mexico in the keeping of the President, and her free institutions to the care of her own people until she can come here as a State and demand admission into the Union.

The fourth of these disasters is the solitude of 10,000 Mormons in the basin of the Salt Lake. But this solitude is of their own choice. They could not live under our Government in any of our States. It is, therefore, solitude sweetened by independence. The remedy proposed by the Compromise is to extend to them institutions like those from which they fled. Sir, the Mormons, when they shall have gathered a population adequate to sustain a State Government, can establish one; and in the meantime they will be living under the protection of our arms and enjoying the only laws they are yet prepared to endure.

There is then only one real wound upon the body politic, the suspension of California; and this is the very one which, with exquisite surgery, the President proposes to us to heal immediately, and by itself alone.

But it is insisted that, trivial as those disturbances are, the country is nevertheless irritated, excited and distracted. Sir, the country seems to me neither excited nor distracted. It is worried by our own delays, and has become impatient—not impatient yet enough to approve this bill, but impatient for the admission of California alone. That is all.

Still, it is replied that the Slavery question must be settled. That question cannot be settled by this bill. Slavery and Freedom are conflicting systems brought together by the union of the States, not neutralized nor even harmonized. Their antagonism is radical, and therefore perpetual. Compromise engenders conflict, and the conflict involves, unavoidably, all questions of a national interest,—questions of Revenue, of Internal Improvements, of Industry, of Commerce, of Political rivalry, and even all questions of Peace and of War. In entering the career of conquest, you have kindled to a fierce heat the fires you seek to extinguish, because you have thrown into them the fuel of Propagandism. We have the Propagandism of Slavery to enlarge the slave market and to increase slave representation in Congress and in the Electoral Colleges,—for the bramble ever seeks power, though the olive, the fig and the vine should refuse it,—and the Propagandism of Freedom to counteract these purposes. Nor can this Propagandism be arrested on either side. The sea is covered with exiles, and they swarm over the land. Emigration from Europe, and from Asia, and from Polynesia, and from the Free States and from the Slave States, goes on and must go on, will go on, in obedience to laws which I should say were higher than the Constitution, if any such laws were acknowledged here. And I may be allowed here to refer those who have been scandalized by the allusion to such laws, to a single passage by an author whose opinions did not err on the side of superstition or tyranny:

"If it be said that every nation ought in this to follow their own Constitutions, we are at an end of all our controversies, for they ought not to be followed unless they are rightly made: they cannot be rightly made if they are contrary to the universal law of God and Nature." [*Discourses on Government by Algernon Sidney, ch 1, p. 48.*

And wherever these emigrants go, whether they go from necessity or of choice, they form continuous, unbroken, streaming processions of colonists, founders of States, builders of Nations; and where Colonies are planted, States are formed or Nations built, Labor is there the first and indispensable element, and it begins and prosecutes to the end its strife for freedom and power. While the sovereignty of the Territories remains here, the strife will come up here to be composed. You may lay the Wilmot Proviso in the Senate Chamber and bury it beneath the Capitol to day, the corse in complete steel will haunt your legislative halls to morrow.

When the strife is ended in the Territories you now possess, it will be renewed on new fields, to fortify advantages gained, or to retrieve losses incurred; for both of the parties know there is "yet that word Hereafter."

Senators have referred us to the promise of peace heralded in the Mexican Compromise. Sir, that prophecy is but half its journey yet. The annexation of Texas; the invasion of Mexico, this prolonged struggle over California, this desperate contest for the snows and sands of New-Mexico and Deseret, are all within the scope and limits of the prediction, and so are the strifes yet to come over ice-bound regions beyond the St. Lawrence and sunburnt plains beneath the tropics.

But while this Compromise will fail of all its purposes, it will work out serious and lasting evils.—All such Compromises are changes of the Constitution, made in derogation of the Constitution. They render it uncertain in its meaning, and impair its vigor as well as its sanctions. This Compromise finds the Senate in wide divergence from the House of Representatives, by reason of the undue multiplication of feeble consumptive States effected by former Compromises of the same sort. You will incur that evil until the Congress of the United States will be unable to conduct the business of the country by reason of a chronic disagreement between this and the popular branch, and the result will be the abolition of one branch or of the other. Either of such would probably be fatal to Liberty. This compromise is rendered doubly dangerous by the circumstance that it is a concession to alarms of disorganization and faction. Such concessions once begun, follow each other with fearful rapidity and always increasing magnitude. It is time, high time that panics about the Union should cease; that it should be known and felt that the Constitution and the Union within the limits of human security, are safe, firm and perpetual. Settle what you can settle, confide in that old arbiter Time for his favor and aid in settling for the future what belongs to the future, and you will hereafter be relieved of two classes of patriots whose labors can well be spared—those who clamor for disunion, either to abolish Slavery or to prevent emancipation, and those who surender principles or sound policy to clamors so idle.

Sir, the agitations which alarm us are not signs of evils to come, but mild efforts of the Commonwealth for relief from mischiefs past.

There is a way and one way only, to put them at rest. Let us go back to the ground where our forefathers stood. While we leave Slavery to the care of the States where it exists let us inflexibly direct the policy of the Federal Government to circumscribe its limits, and favor its ultimate extinguishment. Let those who have this misfortune entailed upon them, instead of contriving how to maintain an equilibrium that never existed consider carefully how, at some time—it may be ten, or twenty, or even fifty years hence—by some means, by means of their own, and with our aid, without sudden change or violent action, they may bring about the Emancipation of Labor, and its restoration to its just dignity and power in the State. Let them take Hope to themselves, give Hope to the Free States, awaken Hope throughout the world. They will thus anticipate only what must happen at some time, and what they themselves must desire if it can come safely, and as soon as it can come without danger. Let them do only this, and every cause of disagreement will cease, immediately and forever. We shall then not merely endure each other, but we shall be reconciled together, and shall realize once more the concord which results from mutual league, united counsels, and equal hopes and hazards in the most sublime and beneficent enterprise the earth has witnessed. The fingers of the Powers above would tune the harmony of such a Peace.

CONDITION OF THE WEST INDIES.

It will be remembered, perhaps, by some of our readers, that two English gentlemen, Messrs. Candler and Alexander, are now travelling in the West Indies, as delegates of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the purpose of examining into the condition of the emancipated slaves of these Islands. In a late No. of the Kingston (Jamaica) Journal we find a long report of a large reception meeting for those delegates, held in that city, last month. We hoped to find in it some valuable information as to the condition of the emancipated class, but the planting interest, and the anti-free-trade spirit, were the predominating influences of the meeting, which evidently was overflowing with sympathy with the planters for the loss of the profits of slave labor, but was less mindful of the people who are the larger proportion of the population, and the history of whose race is one of wrong. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society would better serve the interests for which it was once so zealous, if it devoted its energies to the improvement of the emancipated negroes of the West Indies, rather than to the advocacy of a tax upon slave-sugar. It is now evidently made, through its representatives in the West Indies, the mere tool of the ex-slaveholders, who are not yet reconciled to the loss of the fruits of unpaid toil. The speech of Mr. Candler, however, which was made early in the meeting, and before the question of a tax on sugar quite absorbed it, contained some account of his own and his companion's observations, which we copy:

Mr. Candler said the mover of the first resolution had truly stated that his friend and himself had come out to the West Indies to investigate by their own personal observation, and to make a report to the Anti-Slavery Society in England of the present condition and prospects of these colonies. The seconder of the resolution had expressed his hope that their reception would be such as not to indues them to relax their exertions in the good cause; and he (Mr. C.) could assure him that it would not. They had been received with universal kindness, wherever they had hitherto been. Before leaving England, their object in coming to these colonies had been made known to the government, and Earl Grey, the Secretary for the Colonies, had kindly furnished them with letters of introduction to the governors of the various colonies; and Lord Palmerston, the Secretary for the Foreign Department, with introductions to the Consuls in ports not belonging to Great Britain, which they might visit in the course of their tour, entreating from them every assistance in their power towards the furtherance of their object. But although, they had come out, thus accredited by the government, as it were, they were at perfect liberty to judge for themselves, to form their own opinions, without any restrictions, or without any reference to party, simply and truly to say what they had seen. They had first visited the island of Barbados—perhaps it was fortunate they had done so, as it gave them a more favorable impression than they had been able to form of the others. It was the most prosperous of all these islands, and therefore made a better impression upon them than was warranted by anything they had since seen. The island is thickly populated, is exceedingly well cultivated, and apparently cultivated to profit. Every thing there seemed in a prosperous condition: there was a good understanding between the employer and the employed, and they could most truly, in all respects speak of it favorably. The resolution which he had been called on to propose gave him great pleasure; it was this:

"That this meeting regards with the highest satisfaction, and with devout gratitude to God, the universal establishment of freedom in Jamaica and in the other dependencies of Great Britain, because it believes the act of slave emancipation to have been one of imperative justice and religious obligation, and because that measure has already been the means of greatly promoting the physical and moral well-being of that numerous class for whose benefit it was especially intended."

Now, they had been taunted by the slaveholders of the United States of America, by the Cubans and by the Brazilians, and by all pro-slavery advocates, that our emancipation scheme had proved a failure in Jamaica, Demerara, Trinidad, and some others of our colonies; but he did not believe they said anything of Barbados. (Hear, hear.) He was prepared to maintain that our emancipation scheme was no failure, (Hear, hear.) The effects which they sought to attribute to that, had arisen from other causes. (Hear, hear.) But before he proceeded to them, he would say that as regarded the great body of the inhabitants of the colonies, emancipation had been a great boon and a blessing. (Hear.) In Barbados the employer had no cause to complain, nor did he complain, for wages were not high there, being at the rate of about 9d. or 10d. a day; and neither had the laborers any cause of complant, for in addition to their wages they all had their provision grounds, which were situated near their dwellings, and on which they cultivated enough for their own purposes. They had nearly all of them purchased the houses in which they lived, but not the freeholds; they had built their houses on their masters' grounds, and generally cultivated from a quarter to half an acre each. In such a garden as Barbados, it would be readily understood from this, that the peasantry were well to do. He had had, while there, a conversation with one of the planters about them, and he said that one-fifteenth of all the canes produced in the island are grown by them, and sent to their masters to be ground down and made into sugar; and that thus, one-fifteenth of all the sugar exported from Barbados was produced by the peasantry. They could not but say, then, that their condition was a well-doing one. Wherever they went, this appeared to be the fact, for they found them all prosperous. There was no want of labor there; and perhaps, indeed, numbers of the inhabitants of Barbados might, with great advantage, be poured into other colonies where they are wanted. They went from Barbados to Demerara. They found the state of that colony very different. The estates there are very large, and consequently more difficult of management; and, in consequence of a want of labor, some of them have been thrown up; but they had not generally been abandoned. Demerara has a foreign population of Africans, Portuguese, and Coolies, which they have imported, by way of experiment, and a most costly one it had proved. They had imported altogether 50,000 immigrants since emancipation, of whom there were not more now in the colony than 19,000; some of them, especially the Portuguese, had returned to their own countries, but most of them had died. The mortality amongst them had been very great. To introduce the original number of immigrants £700.000 had been expended; and taking the number at present remaining in the colony, it would make them cost at the rate of £30 per head. Of this large sum, Demerara would have to pay the interest as long as she was a colony, perhaps as long as she would exist; and they were told that they were about to apply again for a loan of £250,000, to import more immigrants. He did not say that the estates in the colony did not want labor, because he knew that in some places it was scarce; the laborers had bought lands when freedom came, and had congregated together in large numbers in some places, having of course deserted others; they had, consequently, become very unequally distributed. Some estates situated near their localities had more labor than they wanted, and others, again, had not enough—many laborers, of course, had more work than they could do, and many could not find as much as they wanted; but in regard to their condition, as emancipated people, they had visited them and found them in far from a discouraging position, receiving, when they could obtain work, about 15d. a day for their labor: and he believed that, besides this, the colony yields ground provisions enough to supply its requirements without being under the necessity of importing. With regard to the depression of the planters, one curious observation had been made to him. Planters had there said to him. "We do not want the price of sugar to be higher than it is." This might appear to the meeting very strange, as it did to him; but the reason alleged on the enquiry. "Why?" was, that directly the price of sugar should advance, it would lead immediately to a competition for labor, which would increase the rate of wages, and the laborer, consequently, get the difference. and the planter was not at all benefitted. He did not think this was correct reasoning, but that was what was said. This was the difference between Barbados and Demerara: the rich planter in Demerara wanted the price of sugar to remain as it is. In Barbados every advance increases satisfaction and prosperity. Those

of the meeting who were planters would understand these things better than they could who were strangers, although they could not well be mistaken in the opinion they had formed as to the position of the colony. They had been afforded every assistance and information from the governor; if they wanted any information or statistical particulars about the estates, his Excellency gave them a note to the registrar, who at once furnished them; so that they had facilities in all respects. In Trinidad, which they visited after leaving Demerara, they had found great depression; the colony was, he considered, bankrupt, and, indeed, so was Demerara to some extent, especially as regards those estates which were encumbered. But he was glad to say that there was a course going on which was calculated to relieve them. The parties holding mortgages were willing to take less than the full amount of their claims, so as to enable the planters to begin again *de novo*. This was as it should be. In Trinidad, some estates were still doing well; and after the cry that had been heard, it might seem strange that they could say that even some were doing well; but he was bound in candor to say that these estates had great natural and other advantages, such as being favorably situated near a market, being worked by men of capital, skill and enterprise, and having a ready and sufficient supply of labor. Such estates, he believed, might still compete with the sugar of slave-growing countries. He had stated these things because he did not wish to disguise facts. He had expressed his opinion: those present who were planters would know whether it was correct or not better than he. They admitted that there was everywhere a general depression—that there was insolvency (hear, hear); yet he hoped that all was not yet lost—he hoped so sincerely. He hoped for better days: he hoped that the planters had already seen the lowest point of their depression: he hoped so for their sakes, and for the laborers' sakes. With regard to the moral condition of the peasantry, it would be understood that he could only speak of it comparatively. It was not what they wished it might be—they wished it was; it was not what they expected. There had been laboring among them a faithful band of followers, doing their duty, but their efforts had not proved so successful as they could wish; yet as regards the condition of the people now compared with what it was during Slavery, the progress had been very great, but it had not been such as it ought to have been compared with what it was immediately on their entering into freedom. When that period first came, it was evident to all that their pastors had done much for their well-being; they have not since made corresponding advances. In Trinidad, feeling an interest in these matters, he attended a meeting, which was held at Port of Spain, when a councillor took the chair, and resolutions were passed requesting the British government to shut out the slave-grown produce of Spain and Brazil until the treaties were fulfilled. There seemed to be only one opinion everywhere on the subject. In Grenada, which they next visited, a meeting held there came to the same conclusion, agreeing in the same way that it was unfair to bring the produce of our free labor colonies into competition with sugar produced by slave labor. There they found the laborer not so well off, in consequence of the low rate of wages prevailing; and he was sorry to say that their moral condition was low also; but appearances seemed to indicate that there will will soon be an alteration for the better. They next visited St. Lucia and St. Vincent, which is really a noble and well-doing colony. He knew that there was depression and insolvencies even there; but he believed, from what he saw, that he was justified in saying that the large number of estates were cultivated to a profit, and if the British government would give encouragement to these colonies, there was no doubt that they would rise again. It might be said that they were hoping against hope in expecting that the British government would consent to exclude slave-grown sugar from her markets; he (Mr. C.) thought otherwise, and would not hesitate to speak it out. They went from St. Vincent, which is really a well-doing place, as they knew, for they went all round it, and were everywhere kindly received, and next came to the French colonies, which he dared say there would be much interest felt to know something about, in consequence of the great change which had lately taken place there. Only two years since, the people were in a state of abject Slavery in Martinique and Gaudaloupe, in which there are some 250,000 inhabitants. It did not fall within his province to say anything about the change of government in France which led to emancipation in the French colonies, but among its first acts by a few lines Slavery was at once doomed. The people knew this as soon as it was done. As it proved, when the decree came out it was understood that the declaration had arrived, and the people were of course much excited, expecting its immediate promulgation: it was withheld for a few hours, and this led to some turbulence, in which, unfortunately, some lives were lost. However, freedom was proclaimed, and the people have been quiet since. While there, they saw the authorities, who had freely conversed with them, and they all assured them that the people were quite orderly, industrious and prosperous, doing all they can for their employers, who on their parts were generally satisfied. The first crop immediately after freedom was equal to two-thirds of the average of the five previous years; it was supposed that that for the present year, in consequence of some mismanagement in the putting in of the canes, would not be so large; but on the other hand it was confidently expected that the 1851 crop would bring them up to the crops of the times of Slavery. The rate of wages here was about a franc a day, that is about 10d. He thought he might, therefore, speak of their condition as being satisfactory. He would now speak of their conduct. They (himself and Mr. Alexander) had called on the Mayor, who is a colored man; he expressed himself in the warmest terms, and said that it was all that could be desired—"c'est magnifique—c'est superbe," said he—in fact he scarcely knew how to express himself, such were his satisfaction and delight. He wished he could say the same of Gaudaloupe, but, unfortunately, he could not. There matters had gone on unfortunately, owing to the strong political feeling existing. They had had some socialist candidates there, who had preached up their doctrines among the people, though he was sure he did not know what they were—if indeed any body understood them (laughter). However, the consequence was great excitement and considerable trouble: the crop was only one-half of an average there, while at Martinique it reached two-thirds; and he feared that the same feverish feeling still existed—not one arising out of freedom, but out of universal suffrage, which had been introduced at the same time with freedom, and while the people were not in a fit state for it. Notwithstanding all this, however, Admiral Bruat had lately paid a visit to this island, and it would appear he did not see great cause of complaint, for he does not speak disparagingly of it, or of the future prospects of the colony. Another colony about which he might speak, though it did not, perhaps, come within the limits of their inquiries, was the Danish island of Santa Cruz. This they found in a sort of middle state, between Slavery and Freedom—better than the apprenticeship which was adopted in these colonies, but still nothing approaching to absolute freedom. They were in fact serfs of the soil: no man can quit his employment for twelve months; and when that is up, he must serve for twelve months more, unless he is able to purchase a pass and leave the island. Accordingly they did not find them with the appearance of freemen. In our own colonies the peasantry hold up their heads—not afraid to look about them, and they speak as if they knew themselves to be free people; but they did not do it there—there was a sort of hanging down of the head, and they looked as if they were afraid to be caught in conversation, evincing great anxiety lest what they said should be overheard. He had entered into conversation with some of them, but found he could learn very little from them. By referring to statistics, however, they had learnt a great deal, and he was glad to see that they had ascertained that this state of things would not continue for more than two or three years. The government seemed to see the advantages of freedom, and it was to be hoped they would soon grant it them in full. They had also intended to visit the Dutch colonies, and an application had been made to the government of Holland for permission to do so; he need not disguise the fact that they had received a very kind reply, informing them that at the present moment the question of emancipation was under the consideration of the government, and it was therefore conceived that it would not be politic to favor their visit to those colonies at the present moment. There was no doubt that Holland was contemplating the emancipation of her slaves: one nation was following another, and everything ought to be done to induce them to do so; and surely when they considered how secure the position of the planter was under a state of freedom, it was worth while to forego some advantages to gain that end. He had not met a single planter who expressed a wish to return to the old Slavery system. (Hear, hear.) Wherever he had met them they had been willing to help not only in maintaining that freedom which had been established, but in extending it to Cuba and Brazil, and other slave-holding countries—and not only for the single fact that they would be gainers by it, he felt satisfied, but because great changes had been effected in the minds of the planters, which made them desire it also on moral grounds. At St. Kitts, at a public meeting which had been held on this subject, the Speaker took the chair, and one of the parties who addressed the meeting remarked to his honor that if twenty years ago any person had ventured to give expression to such sentiments as had that day been fully expressed before him, he would have been sent to gaol, and that even his honor would have felt it his duty to send him there. But, now, fortunately, the times were changed, and they of course were changed with them. The speaker took these remarks, and kindly, on leaving the chair, that same day, told him (Mr. Candler) that he had never in his life presided over a meeting the proceedings at which had given him greater pleasure than those just concluded. Mr. Candler then alluded to the contest which had formerly taken place between the planters of these colonies and the Society of which himself and Mr. Alexander were members. What they contended for, he said, the planters now see was right, although they did not think so then. Before they succeeded in establishing it, there had been a fair stand-up fight between them (hear), and they had gained it. (Hear, hear, and cheers). The planters did complain of suffering, but they did not say that it was the consequence of emancipation—nor was it. It was not his province, perhaps, to allude to the sugar bill of 1846 (hear), but he would say he knew it had depressed them. (Loud cheers.) In Antigua, in addition to sufferings from this cause, they had been visited by earthquake and hurricane, and consequently had been very much reduced. The peasantry were in a state not of destitution, perhaps, but he did not know any colony in which they were in such a state of poverty—ninepence, or even as low as sixpence, being the rate of a day's wages. They had now come to Jamaica, and had been to several parts of the island, and observed its condition to the best of their ability. If they did not represent it at home in a satisfactory manner, it would not be owing to a want of kindness anywhere, or to a want of courtesy from the Governor and authorities, or of the Mayor of this city in calling that meeting; nor would it be for want of a desire on their part, but incompetency. He should endeavor, however, to do it faithfully and fully. They had reason to hope that the worst had now passed over them, and that better days were coming. He trusted, therefore, they would put their shoulders to the wheel, put in practice a careful economy, and place their establishments in a proper position, and he was sure the British government would do the best they could to render their efforts successful. He did believe the state of the peasantry of this country to be one of great comparative comfort—one of more comfort than was enjoyed by the peasantry of his country; there was far more poverty and distress in England than here (hear, hear), or in any part of these colonies. He wished them well—he wished that they might get better wages, that they might raise new schools; but if wages remain as they are, still let them be contented, and thankful to Almighty God for the change that has been brought about in their condition. He asked them to join with that meeting and with the planters in that room to aid in bringing about a better condition of affairs for all parties; their interests were all one—they were all sailing in the same boat; he hoped they would all pull together, and wished them all prosperity. (Mr. Candler sat down amid loud cheers.)

PIRATES AND MOBS IN AMERICA.

Those who are borne along by a stream are not always conscious of their own motion. The change of place seems to them to be in the stationary objects which they leave behind. The people of the United States are in progress towards what we must think very dangerous conclusions; but there are few amongst themselves in whose minds the movement excites my serious misgivings. It may appear rash to say of a society so prosperous, that it is drifting towards anarchy; but this is the impression which many facts concur to produce in the minds of Europeans, and it is, unfortunately, confirmed by the most recent intelligence. Nothing can be clearer than the habits of obedience to the law lie at the basis of all civilization. Wherever these are wanting, we are sure to find barbarism and wretchedness. Civilization is another word for universal peaceful co-operation, for the perfect reliance of man upon man, and of all upon the stability and regularity of the arrangements under which they live. Whenever individual wilfulness disturbs this order, it tends to sever the innumerable ties of confidence which knit men together; and if the law, which is the expression of the collective will, has not a clear and decisive efficacy in crushing the rebellious impulse, the ultimate result must be complete social disorganization. Habitual submission to legal authority is essential to all governments, but it should be the very vital principle of a Democratic or Republican constitution. A powerful executive, with masses of troops at command, may hold under coercion a population inclined to disturbance; but what are the prospects of order, where a people, which is itself sovereign, and the only guardian of law, is prone to sanction or to tolerate illegal violence? We cannot help being painfully struck with the growth of lawless habits in the United States. They augur ill for the fortunes of the great community which is spreading itself from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The Cuban expedition, in spite of its ridiculous termination, is a serious fact. If a piratical band of several thousand men can be recruited, armed, and organised, on American soil, what are we to think of the authorities which permit such an occurrence? If such a thing could take place in any European Kingdom, it would provoke a universal self-defensive league against the country so distinguished; and scarcely any measure of restraint or punishment would be thought unwarranted. But no European government would thus suffer itself to be rendered a public nuisance by ill-disposed subjects. It would punish, or give up to punishment, those who were guilty of such a crime. But it is unfortunately doubtful whether, in the eyes of a large portion of the American people, the piratical invasion of a friendly territory, when it promises success, be any crime at all. When Lopez came back from his Cuban expedition, he was arrested indeed, in accordance with law, but was immediately discharged; and if the accounts of his reception by the populace be true, he was regarded much more as a hero than as a culprit. This happened, too, notwithstanding the suspicion of cowardice which his conduct was likely to excite. If he had landed at New Orleans after effecting a conquest, the moral complexion of his acts would have been the same; but is it not too evident, that his reception would have been an unmixed and enthusiastic triumph? It may be said, that the affair is not yet at an end, and that this desperado may yet be made amenable to law. We hope so. The matter concerns both the honor and the safety of the American Republic.

Passing to another matter, what are we to think of so gross a violation of the freedom of discussion, as that which took place with respect to the Anti-Slavery Meeting at New York, and of which an account appeared in the *Inquirer* last week? We could not condemn it in language stronger than that quoted from an able and honest New York journal, *The Tribune*; but what steps have the New York authorities taken, either to punish the mob-leaders, or to prevent such outrages in future? Would Washington, or the contemporaries of Washington, have submitted to such insolent and brutal dictation? If not, how can we avoid the impression, that the public men of America are degenerate, and that mob-rule is gradually extinguishing the love of genuine freedom in those who are especially called upon to be its champions?

Another outrage appears to have been committed, about the same time, upon the person of Mr. Frederick Douglass, a gentleman of color, known to many in the country, and who has distinguished himself, at home, by the very able management of a journal devoted to the advocacy of negro freedom. This paper, the *North Star*, published at Rochester, in the United States, is a standing practical refutation of that monstrous theory which denies to the negro race the highest moral and intellectual qualities. But Mr. Douglass's mental attainments are an unpardonable offence in the eyes of many of his fellow-citizens. Having been seen lately in New York, walking with two white ladies, he was, for that violation of American propriety, subjected to personal violence, and we fear that the outrage would be too generally sanctioned by the feeling of the white population. Here, again, we have lawlessness in that middle class, which, in other countries, is the chief guardian and support of order. Surely, it is time for Americans to try and see themselves as others see them. It is time to awake to a sense of the dangers which lie before them. Many powerful conservative principles are, no doubt, at work in the bosom of American society; but nations which seemed to be as stable and deep-rooted as primæval mountains, have, before now, fallen into decay and dissolution solely through the growth of internal disorders.—*London Inquirer.*

SOUTHERN MOVEMENT.

The *Charleston Mercury* correspondence (says the *Tribune*) is quite spicy since the adjournment of the Nashville Convention, and various propositions are made for the Equality or Independence of the South, and the security of "Southern Rights." Clubs on the plan of those in existence among the Garrisonian Abolitionists are thought the most effective engines for the annihilation of the North. The *Mercury* says:

"Let Southern Associations be formed in every State. Let old party names and party affiliations be utterly discarded, and the qualification for membership be simply a solemn pledge of the candidate that he will use every effort to secure the Southern Equality and Southern Independence.

"Let there be State Southern Associations, composed of delegates from the subordinate Associations, each Association being entitled to one delegate, and those having over fifty members to a delegate for every additional fifty, but no Association to be entitled to more than five delegates.

"When it is necessary for combined Southern effort, the State Associations can send delegates to meet in General Council. If the organization is as perfect as it should be, such Council would be able to speak authoritatively, and act decisively."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 18, 1850.

BLASPHEMY.

Not more regular and certain is the due revolution of the Earth around the Sun than is the constantly returning cycle of human ideas. The great globe which we inhabit is, to be sure, always in motion, whirling through space at a rate inconceivable, though calculable; but still, it finds itself forever repeating its successive places in its orbit. It seems as if it were so with ideas. As if philosophers, theologies, theories of all sorts, are only planets which disappear but to return again in their appointed season; and that the most extravagant and eccentric speculations are but the comets of the firmament of mind which appear new and strange only because of the regular eccentricity of their orbits. Some ideas, however, have such brief revolutions that they may be said to be ever with us. Such an one is the state of mind which includes in the nomenclature of blasphemy every deviation from the mental phenomena to which each generation has become accustomed. As comets, which used to shake pestilence and death "from their horrid hair," and eclipses which once perplexed monarchs "with fear of change," are now become the playthings of Science and are reduced into the annual *programme* of popular amusements; even so, though the cry of blasphemy and the fear it excites ceases not from off the earth, still the blasphemy of the one age becomes the philosophy of the next, and the heresy of the last generation grows into the religion of the present.

Blasphemy is, in general, but another name for a difference of opinion from the many or the few that hold the reins of power, where it is denounced. Socrates drank the hemlock because he blasphemed the Gods of Greece and perverted the Athenian youth. But it is many ages since anybody has found fault with his orthodoxy on these points. Blasphemy and Treason were the main charges that nailed Jesus Christ "to the bitter cross" eighteen hundred years ago; but now, and for centuries past, the greatest part of what may justly be called Civilization is identical with Christendom. The Reformers were Blasphemers, so were the Reformers of the Reformation. The Puritan blasphemed when he censured the Reformed Anglican Church, and the Quaker, when he testified against the short-comings of Independency and Presbyterianism. While Holy Mother Church fulminated her thunders at all alike. They that denied the Divine Right of Kings were blasphemers, and the Prince whose divinity was brought to the test of the block, has been a martyr for these two hundred years. And, surely, there are not many at the present day who would not regard as blasphemers the prelates and priests who told the pedant James or the tyrant Charles that they derived from God the right to govern wrong. It is not strange, then, that the Abolitionists are charged with blasphemy by this wicked and perverse generation. There is reason good for it. They do blaspheme the popular religion, as much as Christ did that of the Pharisees, Luther that of Leo X., or Socrates that of the Sophists. The main question is whether their blasphemy will not be regarded as pure religion and undefiled by generations not very far remote.

The blasphemy of the Abolitionists consists, as we conceive, in their attempts to vindicate God, Jesus Christ and the Scriptures, from the charge brought against them by the great body of professing Christians in America, of sustaining American Slavery. This is, in a sense, blasphemy; because the American Church, as a body, have made Slavery the Fourth Person in the Godhead, and consequently whatever touches upon its divinity strikes at the root of their religion. The Abolitionists are a sect which rejects this theology. Without attacking the authenticity or inspiration of the Scriptures, they maintain that, as they were given through the intermediation of fallible men, if they seem to contain anything derogatory to the character of God and inconsistent with his goodness, it must be through the mistake of the organ and not the eternal purpose of the inspiring Mind. Their business is not with theological questions as to the charaater and preeminence of Christ. They take the admissions of Christendom, generally, as the basis of their ratiocination, and maintain that if he be the Saviour of the World, sent to seek and to save that which is lost, and any inferences are drawn, either from his silence or his words, that he approved of the degradation and misery of millions of human beings, then those inferences must be wrong or his character and office much misunderstood. Is not this "Searching the Scripture," according to the received canons of Protestantism? If we must all agree, or be blasphemers, of what great value is the boasted right of private judgment?

This is the heaviest charge that can be brought against the Abolitionists as far as my knowledge goes. The charges that have been laid to their account, as the constituents of Mr. Garrison are even more absurd than this. The papers, religious and political, throughout the country, have exhausted their type in giving expression to their horror at the fearful blasphemies he uttered at New York, when Captain Rynders, as the Incarnate Head of the American Church and State, came to rescue both from his fangs. And what was it he said? Why, that it was no cross, in this age and country, to call oneself a Christian! That Christianity, in name, occupies the high places of the Government! The precise moment at which the Avenging Genius of outraged America felt bound to interfere was when he declared that General Taylor was a Christian! Captain Rynders, probably, had an instinctive sense of the inherent wickedness of such a combination of ideas, and so came in and broke up the meeting. But he should not have punished us for merely stating a popular delusion, however monstrous and absurd. Following at a humble distance from their great Leader, Mr. Webster, Professor Stuart and many other burning and shining lights in Church and State, have uplifted their holy hands at this outrage against Religion. And there have not been wanting intimations that he should be indicted under the Massachusetts Statute of Blasphemy! If he meant, in good faith, to pronounce General Taylor a Christian in the highest sense of the word, or to recognize the slave-driving religion of this country as genuine Christianity, we are not sure that he would not come within the purview of that Statute.

For what says that statute? "If any person shall wilfully blaspheme the holy name of God, by denying, cursing or contumeliously reproaching God, or Jesus Christ, or the Holy Ghost, or the Holy word of God contained in the Holy Scriptures, or exposing them to contempt and ridicule, he shall be punished by imprisonment in the State's Prison, not more than two years or in the County jail not more than one year, or by fine not exceeding three hundred dollars." Now whether Mr. Garrison has subjected himself to this charge by calling the Religion and Head of the United States, "Christian," we leave to the decision of the learned in the law. But we cannot conceive of their being two opinions as to the pamphlet of Professor Stuart on the subject. This learned pundit begins at the very commencement of the Bible, assuming its plenary inspiration, or the responsibility of God for every word of it, and beginning with Moses and the Prophets and coming down to Christ and the Apostles, he demonstrates the great postulate that Slavery, or the ownership of one human being by another, is not contrary to the Will of God or the Teachings of Christ! And before he gets through, he expresses his own abhorrence of this very institution and depicts its horrors in no softened colors. In other words, Professor Stuart cannot away with what Moses and the Prophets, the Messiah and the Apostles, yea, and God, himself, did not think worth mentioning with displeasure! Is not this setting himself above all that is called God? If this be not "contumeliously reproaching God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Scriptures, and exposing them to contempt and ridicule," we should like to know what is? Could, we will not say Mr. Garrison, but Tom Paine, himself, do this more thoroughly? Whether of the twain is the blasphemer? Of a surety, if Mr. Garrison deserve the Common Jail for what he has said, hath not Mr. Stuart "read his title clear" to the State's Prison, by what he has published? We commend these considerations to all whose duty it is to see to the credit and safety of true religion, and especially to the District Attorney of Essex County.—E. Q.

THE NORTHERN SANCHO PANZA AND HIS VICARIOUS CORK TREE.

If any age or any zone
Hath zeal for Christian doctrine shown,
Zeal proved by deeds, not word of mouth,
Sure the North shows it toward the South;
Ere from one cheek the smart hath burned,
The other to the palm is turned;
Soon as the coat is asked for, lo!
The cloak must from our shoulders go;
And now they bid us, for our sins,
To Compromise—what's left? our skins.
Our cheeks, *our* cloaks, *our* skins, suppose
They should be some one's else, who knows?
Well, well, we're not our brother's keeper,
And *such* self-sacrifice is cheaper.

"Brethren," says Sancho, meekly, "this is
The price we pay for prejudices;
Some views prevailed in Pagan times
Which our more light convert to crimes;
The stranger found the ancient roof
'Gainst every harm a shield of proof,
And even a foe, become a guest,
Was sure of shelter, food and rest;
But, my good friends, this heathen virtue
In its pure form would surely hurt you,
Though, watered well with compromise,
The stomach finds it very nice;
Christ came, as Paul's Epistles state,
The Ethnic law to abrogate,
Which means—that is—in short, the fact is
Virtue is good in all but practice,
And we have all of us gone wrong,
I almost blush to say how long.
We must obey God's laws, no doubt,
As fast as we can find them out,
That truth is marked by every steeple—
But if we are God's chosen people?
If Cuffee here is just the ram
Jehovah sent to Abraham
In Isaac's stead, by whom is meant
Our party and our ten per cent?

"When the wise men of Gotham found
Their townhouse leaked, they looked around
Some lasting remedy to find
Such as would suit the Gotham mind;
After ten years of speeches, lectures,
Specifications, doubts, conjectures,
And quarrelings among electors,
A very wise and reverend man
Proposed, as all agreed, *the* plan—
A roof that won't keep out the weather
Had best be torn down altogether;
When we've no roof, 'tis very plain
There'll be no leak to let in rain.

"So we have tried our small concessions,
And given the lie to our professions,
Yet, spite of all our strength and skill,
The South is discontented still;
Now let us no more play the dunce,
But fairly give up all at once,
And fitting penance do, what's more,
For not inventing it before;
My private feelings I surrender,
Although my flesh, like yours, is tender;
Let all the people, far and near,
The thong across my shoulders hear!"

O, generous Sancho, cut and thrash!
The cork-tree will not hurt the lash;
Lay on and spare not, soundly thwack!
Remember that the bark is black;
Keep up the sacrifice, 'tis brave,
When no one feels it but the slave;
Till dooms-day give up all to others,
When all you give up is—your brother's.

J. R. L.

Death of General Taylor.—The funeral obsequies of the late President were celebrated on Saturday last with great pomp and magnificence at Washington, and the day observed here, and in this vicinity, as a day of public mourning. The details of the ceremony crowd the columns of the newspapers, by which it appears no such pageant was ever before witnessed in this country. The estimated cost, including all the attendant expenses from the time of the President's death to his final deposit in Mississippi is rated as high as $100,000. So large a sum to bury a man, however exalted in station, would not probably seem extravagant to a people accustomed to royal extravagancies, but to those who still believe that the simplicity of a Republic is most dignified when farthest removed from aping regal pomp, it will seem enormous. It would be well if the people were as liable to be scandalized at other sins perpetrated at the Capital as at that of the waste of money. That the Government of the United States is growing more and more extravagant is the least of its corruptions. That the people choose slaveholding oligarchies is the thing to be mourned for, not that they, or their parts, are buried out of their sight with pomp and circumstance. But "how can you serve two masters?"

The political atmosphere, of course, is surcharged with rumors, which flash and rumble in every direction. Where the mark will be left when the cloud has passed over us it is impossible even to guess. One thing only seems to be taken for granted—that the new President is an ultra Whig, and more likely, therefore, as an out and out partisan to settle existing differences by compromise, and more to the satisfaction of the South than even his Southern predecessor; so much more evil is predicated of a Northern dough-face than of a moderate slaveholder. Mr. Fillmore nevertheles is very quiet up to this point, and all reckoning thus far is made without the host. The sum-total of his chalk-marks behind the door will be known in due season, and in the meantime perhaps nobody knows precisely the intentions of the man who is described as looking even at Henry Clay, after a long interview, with a stolid and imperturbable countenance, blank and meaningless. We shall be glad to be assured that it betokened cunning and not fright.

The newspapers have settled it that Daniel Webster is to be prime Minister, an arrangement which would doubtless be satisfactory to him, and would relieve his friends from embarrassing circumstances. He and they, of course, would prefer a dignified resignation of his seat in the Senate for a seat in the Cabinet to the probable retirement to his agricultural pursuits in Marshfield, for which, probably, the people of Massachusetts, so far as they are concerned, mean to have him ample leisure. Whether Mr. Fillmore will agree with the *New York Herald* and the *Boston Advertiser* that he could'nt do better than invite Mr. Webster to his side, remains to be seen.

At any rate this is certain—the change of dealers has put quite a new complexion upon the game, and the curiosity to see who and what will turn up winners only heightens the universal anxiety. The one thing so far settled is that General Taylor's friends, like Hindoo widows, have been compelled to surrender up their lives—political—upon his funeral pyre.

Society of Public Health.—We have received a Circular announcing the formation of an Association with this title, and a request is made that it should have the added publicity of the Standard's circulation. We do this, of course, most cheerfully, as public and private health are matters in which we take a good deal of interest, because, if for no other reason, they are, in a great measure, dependent upon each other. Precisely how the public health is to be secured, however, is a question about which a great many others besides Doctors will disagree. It strikes us that some of the points of difference are included in the declaration of the proposed Society; but if it can unite the requisite number of people in carrying out half of its purposes, it will do vast good The following is its Declaration:

SOCIETY OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

DECLARATION.

Believing that Disease and premature Death are, in most cases, the results of ignorant violations of the Laws of Health, by individuals and communities; and that the amount of such sickness, and the extent of such mortality, demand of the intelligent and philanthropic some preventive action; we, whose names are hereunto annexed, form ourselves into an Association, to be known as the Society of Public Health, and give our influence and aid—

To arouse the attention of the public to the necessity of a Health Reform, by public meetings, addresses, lectures, tracts, books, and other suitable publications;

To enlighten the people, by these and all proper means, in the knowledge of a sound Physiology, as connected with the preservation of health, the cure of disease, and the prolongation of Human life;

To influence a wise legislation, which shall abolish all destructive nuisances, and secure to our entire population, cleanliness, pure air, proper food, and, as far as possible, by municipal regulations, surround us with the conditions of Health;

To elevate the standard of medical education and practice, so that the highest duty of the physician shall be the preservation of the public health, and his greatest care the prevention, rather than the cure of diseases.

Messrs. D. S. Dickinson and Wm. H. Seward, of the U. S. Senate, and H. S. Conger and C. Durkee, of the House, will accept our thanks for valuable public documents.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

[*Phonographic Report by Dr. Stone.*]

Chochituate Hall, Wednesday Eve'g, May 29.

SPEECH OF C. C. BURLEIGH.

[The resolutions were read.]

I know not that I can better begin this evening than where the resolutions leave off—with the pledge, on the part of this Convention, that we, the abolitionists of New England and the North, will disobey all constitutional requirements and legislative enactments which lay upon us their injunction to give back the runaway slave to his master; which lay upon us the injuction to disobey God's great law of humanity, bidding us 'not to deliver unto his master the servant that has escaped from his master unto us, but to let him dwell with us, even among us, in that place which he shall chose in one of our gates where it liketh him best.' More than that! We are pledged not only to disobey those constitutional requirements, but to do all that we can to induce others to disobey that iniquitious kind of legislation, those iniquitous provisions of the Constitution; to do what within us lies to make such provisions of the Constitution absolutely null and void. Null and void they are in the eye of God. Null and void they are in the eye of enlightened humanity. Null and void they are even according to the definition of law itself, if they are tried by the absract principles of law in its highest sense. If you take law according to the definition which has been given by some of its ablest expounders—if you take the definition of your Blackstones and your Cokes—if you take the definiton of men whose names are consecrated in the memory of the law students—you may by them maintain the proposition that every provision of constitutional law which requires the rendition of a runaway slave to his master is absolutely null and void, legally as well as morally.—But be that as it may, it alters not the question to us. Either law is as these sages have taught, abstract morality applied to the affairs of life; either law does 'dwell in the bosom' of the God of justice; who sends forth his decrees in the dictates of humanity, or it does not. If it be true that all law is derived from the law of nature and the law of God, and whatever is contrary to these is entirely null and void—not *bad* law, but *no* law'; if it be true that what calls upon us to disobey God is no law, then the question is at an end.

You know that the slave has a right to be free. We have not come to argue the question to-night whether the laborer has a right to his wages, whether manhood has a right to liberty and to that crown of honor which was placed upon his head when he was made but a little lower than the angles. Whether it is right to rob him of the dignity, the glory, the majesty which he received as an emanation of God's own spirit imbreathed into the hitherto lifeless clay, is not now the question in debate. Whether it is right to violate the sanctity of the domestic relation, to trample upon the Divine institution of marriage and the family, that germ of all political and social organization, that sacred basis of the State, the nation, is a question which we have not come to argue here. Whether it is right to lay fetters on the consciences of men, whether it is right to shut the dungeon doors of ignorance on the intellects of men; whether it is right to take those faculties capable of expansion and enlargement and upward growth, till man shall in stature overtop the tallest angel as much as the tallest angel now overtops the lowest victim of oppression beneath the slaveholder's heel; whether it is right to drag down such a being, and doom him to moral and intellectual death, is not the question to-night. We take it for granted that you agree with us in this. Do you not? If there be any man who does not, let him announce it. We here avow our belief that it is a crime against man, that it is a sin against God, that it is an outrage against the clearest principles of justice and the plainest mandates of the Divine law, to make man a brute, to make merchandise of him, to hold as a chattle personal him on whom God has placed the obligation of duties and conferred the possession of rights.

We are agreed, then, here, and it is upon the basis of this agreement that I proceed in the argument which I am about to lay before you. It is upon the basis that slaveholding is wrong, is a crime and a sin, that no man can have, that no constitution can confer, that no statute law can impart, that no judicial precedent can bestow the right and the power—the rightful power—to hold a man as a slave. It is upon this basis that I proceed.

Well then, we are agreed as to the basis; and now, the first step that I make upon it is the affirmation that the slave, having thus a perfect right to himself, to his freedom, to the wages of his toil, to the enjoyment of his intellectual powers, to the liberty of his conscience, to the sanctity of his domestic relations and domestic rights and domestic joys, in one word, to the integrity of his manhood and every thing thereunto pertaining, has also a right, as a necessary inference from these propositions, when those rights are wrested from him, to obtain them again in the most harmless manner that it can be done, by quietly withdrawing his hand from the manacle and his foot from the shackle. He has a right to runaway, or, if you prefer the term, to migrate. He has a right to present himself by the side of the Irish or Hungarian patriots, and claim protection from a tyranny in comparison with which the oppression of Victoria and of Lord John Russell is as nothing. [Great sensation.]

He has a right to ask for the shelter of your roof.—He has a right to ask for the means of obtaining, by honest, industrious toil, subsistence for his body and culture for his mind.

The slave having that right, of course every thing which contravenes it is a wrong. Be it statute law, be it constitutional provision, be it the decision of the Supreme Court, or be it what it may, it is a wrong. It is just what Slavery is, which it is brought to support, a sin against God and an outrage upon man. We are agreed upon this main proposition, and no man having intelligence enough to lay two ideas together, and say what third one belongs with them, can deny that the slave has this right of running away, and consequently whatever contravenes this right is a wrong. Here, then, we stand together. The slave has a right to run away. Every statute, every constitutional provision, every precedent of the courts which stands in the way of his escaping from bondage, is contrary to God's law, is contrary to man's duty, and therefore ought to be treated as *every* advesrary of God's law and man's duty should be treated. We should overthrow it as the heroes of ancient fable brought down the dragon who attempted to stand before their course.

Consequently, upon the very ground here stated, upon the very ground assumed by the sages of your law, the return of fugitive slaves is utterly illegal. But if you disclaim these opinions of the sages of the law, if you say they erred, or that they only stated certain broad general propositions, which were afterwards so qualified that they amount to nothing touching the case before us, we assent, if you please, for the sake of the argument, and admit that law may be iniquitous and yet be law. But there is a higher law than the Constitution; there is a higher judicature than the Supreme Court; there is a tribunal more dignified and authoritative than that which sends forth from Washington the decrees against our brother man;—and by its decrees must we be governed. That is the tribunal whose decisions bid us set aside the decisions of these earthly tribunals, the decrees of these earthly legislatures, which would make us the allies of the Slave Power, which would make us rivet the chains upon the slave. What would you say to this? Would you attempt to apologize for it by saying that it is only the freeman who is not to be reduced to bondage? I am willing to accept the case, then, in that aspect of it. I will agree, for the present argument, to what I by no means admit in fact, that only the freeman is to be protected. You know, as well as I know, that these principles are to be considered immutable and all-comprehensive. They apply to the slave just as much as to the freest child who ever bounded in conscious liberty over the sod made greener by the blood with which Massachusetts men consecrated it to liberty in the hottest of her battles. But waving this claim that we might set up we take the view that the freeman only is to be protected. Our wise men, our legislators and our reverends—the Divine men who back up the legislators—pledge themselves to an enactment which is to put the right, not merely of escaped men, but of *all* freemen, at the mercy of a petty United States officer. But that is not the burden of our charge. We take the provision of the Constitution, we take the 'solemn covenant' of our fathers, and we condemn *that*, even in the most restricted interpretation which you can give it, wheresoever it conflicts with the right of man to be free.

A slave has set his foot upon the soil where Warren bled, where Concord river washes away the blood-prints of 1775, and having touched Massachusetts soil, he is a freeman. He was a freeman, *of right*, when he was toiling upon the Carolina plantation. He was a freeman, *of right*, when he was in the coffle gang going from Washington to Louisana. He was a freeman *of right*, when breathing the pestilential air of a slave-ship passing fron Alexandria to Mobile. But he had not the enjoyment of his right; and now he chooses to take it in coming to the North, and thus he has become a freeman *in fact*, also. Now the magnetic circle is finished, the conductor is complete, the lightning bolt of Heaven's electricity, passing down it, has dashed his Slavery to the dust, and the man stands before us a freeman.—[Much enthusiasm.] He is no longer a slave. The freedom which was always his *of right*, is now his both *right* and *in fact*. You may say of him, he *was* a slave, but not he *is* a slave. When you come here and say, 'You may take your *slaves*, and hold them in bondage,' I answer, that you have not brought the case to be applied in the instance before us. This is not a slave. He is a man, a free man, a free inhabitant of Massachusetts. He has all the rights which any other inhabitant of Massachusetts has under the equal laws of Massachusetts, which recognize no difference of right on the ground of complexion; no difference of privileges on the ground of birth; no difference of enjoyment on the ground of previous condition. In the eye of Massachusetts law, in the eye of Massachusetts' Constitution, and in the eye of common sense, common humanity, and eternal right, here stands a man—a slave no longer [sensation]; neither in right nor in fact a slave.—And when you lay your hand upon that man, you are as much invading the rights of his essential humanity, you are as much defying the laws of Massachusetts, you are as much assailing the rights of every individual citizen of Massachusetts, as if you were to put your hands upon the Governor of Massachusetts, and put him up for sale under the blended shadows of the red auction flag and the stripes of the Republic. You know that, don't you? Well, then, we are agreed so far.

You are enslaving a freeman. 'O, he was a slave.' Well somebodody else was something. Look at the poor, paltry excuse that the slaveholder gives, when he would reduee a man to a mere piece of human machinery. He comes here and tells you, This man was my slave.' Let us translate this into plain English.—Now, to be a slave as we have agreed in the outset, is to be the victim of outrage, of plunder of wrong.—Therefore, a man says, 'You must help me put that man in bondage, because I robbed him yesterday, I plundered him the day before, I violated his rights the day before that, I perpetrated outrage on him previously, and have continued doing this from the time when he was born till the time when he sought his manhood in Massachusetts.' [Shame! Shame!] And you in Massachusetts, who boast the memories of Warren and Hancock, you will tell me that you are ready to acknowledge the validity of a claim based upon such a foundation, will you? And because a man committed robbery yesterday, therefore you will help him to-day to do the same again.

Go a little lower down to apply the same principle. Here is a man arraigned before your court of justice, charged with having stolen a horse from his neighbor. He does not deny the fact. 'To be sure,' he says, 'I did take the horse, and I took it because I had the right to take it. For don't you know that it was the same man that I stole a horse from last year, and then put in the plea, at this bar, that I did the same thing to him the year before. I have done it every year since I was old enough to ride a horse; and my father and grandfather have done it before me to his father and grandfather. This practice of stealing a horse annually has run in the family ever since we have had an existence. We have been accustomed to steal horses from that man and his ancestry ever since he had an ancestry.' Will you say, 'Let him have the horse'? No! You will exclaim, 'Your plea is your condemnation!' And why not say the same when the claim is upon a man's manhood?

A man, in the enjoyment of his rights, claims the protection of your public sentiment and your law.—But then the Constitution has come. That has changed the whole state of things. The statute of Congress has interposed, and has put an entirely different aspect upon the matter. How can that be, unless the Constitution of your country is higher than the authority of your God? There can be no concurrent jurisdiction here. It is one or the other paramount, You must choose which you will recognize as supreme. Now, our great and wise men tell us that we must obey the Constitution, and they sneer at the idea that there is a higher law. And why must we obey the Constitution? It is for one of the most absurd reasons: because we have sworn to do it. These men who go into the halls of Congress take there the solemn oath that they will support the Constitution. What do they swear by? If they were consistent, if they believed their own declaration and their own implied assertion, that there is no higher law than the Constitution, then they ought to swear by the Constitution. Instead of raising the hand toward God, they ought to lay that hand upon the parchment itself, and bow their heads to its foul and bloody page, rather than to the volume of the 'Holy Evangelists,' when they seal with a kiss the pledge which pollutes their lips; and thus, in all consistency, swear by the Constitution that they will uphold and obey the Constitution. 'Men verily swear by the

greater'; and not by the less that they will support the greater. They do not swear by the Constitution of Massachusetts that they will support the Constitution of the United States. Why, then, should they swear by the God above that they will support that still higher authority, the Constitution of the United States? No! To be consistent, I say, they must swear by the Constitution that they will maintain the Constitution.

This, then, is the position which we must agree to stand upon, if we would be consistent with the doctrines we have already agreed to stand upon as proved; that whereas the supreme law forbids the recapture of the slave; and whereas, our allegiance is to the supreme law first, and to the inferior law only so far as it is a transcript of the supreme command, we must do what this resolution pledges us to do—we must violate the pro-slavery Constitution.

A Voice in the rear of the Hall—There are three or four individuals here who might readily be put out, if there are any officers.

The Chairman—Order! The Chair has not perceived any attempt to disturb the meeting.

The Voice—They are now rushing away.

The Chairman—The Chair is confident that the gentlemen, if they are gentlemen, will keep quiet and order. He thinks if all remain stationary, all will hear; and if they cannot hear, or if they are uncomfortable, they had better retire.

Mr. Burleigh—I was saying, that we are bound, in consistency with our admission of the doctrine of the wrongfulness of slaveholdidg, with which we start in agreement, to discard the pro-slavery Constitution, the pro-slavery statute, and the pro-slavery judicial precedent, and, daring to abide the consequences, we must be true to humanity, to justice, whatsoever it requires us to spurn in order to maintain this fidelity.

But I go farther; and I think I may venture to say, in behalf of the people of New England, in behalf of the people of the North—certainly in behalf of all the people who from their dwelling places and in their daily walks can can look out upon the monument upon Bunker Hill, or can gather together under the roof-tree of old Faneuil Hall;—I may say of all such, that we not only acknowledge our *duty* in this matter, but we affirm that our fixed *purpose* is, not to give back the runaway slave to his master, not to abet the means of reënslavement for those whom chains could not hold; that we will not give that man again to the grasp of the oppressor. I say not only we ought not, but we will not. Does not every heart in this assembly echo the expression? Does not every soul in this assembly record, in the depths of his own breast's deepest purposes, that resolution? We will not be the allies of the kidnapper. We will not be the bloodhounds of the slaveholder. We will not be the sentinels at his prison doors, to guard against the escape of his victims, and aid in their recapture. I believe this is our purpose. Why, then, should we shrink from the frank avowal of it.

I trust there is not a man who is willing to stand up here and say that he is ready to help capture a runaway slave. I think that Daniel Webster himself, when called upon to start in the chase in his own proper person, would shrink from consistency with his own doctrines. And I am not so very certain that if a slave should knock at midnight at the door of the statesman of Marshfield, and Daniel was certain that no official of the government was lurking near to see him, I am not sure he would not admit the fugitive, feed him from his table, let him rest under the shelter of his roof, and give him his God-speed on the way to the land of liberty, even if he could not dare trust himself to go with him. [Applause and hisses.] I perceive his friends here seem to be unwilliug to admit so much in Daniel's favor. [Enthusiasm.] Perhaps they are right. If they are his friends, and intimates, they probably know him better than I do. [Cheers and groans.] They assent. [Prolonged applause.] Let it be so, then. Let Daniel stand the sole exception [laughter]; not

> 'Faithful among the faithless, faithful found
> Among innumerable false;'

but rather where all else are true, the *solitary* Satan, instead of leading off with him the third part of the heaven. [Mirth redoubled. Three cheers for Daniel Webster.]

Now they shout at the sentiment that he stands the only faithless one among the memorable true. [Applause and hisses.] Be it so! I speak then, for the rest of the inhabitants of New England; and I apprehend that no one is prepared to controvert my assertion here, at least on his own behalf, that we will not give back the runaway slave. If the slave comes to our dwellings, we will aid him. We will take care to make it understood, where we live, and wherever we can make our sentiments and our purposes known, that he is safe now; that there is no need for him to fly from under the shadow, I will not say of the eagle's wings, but of the old Massachusetts pine tree, away to the shadow of a monarch's throne; to the protection of a government whose rule was so oppressive that our fathers deemed it worth a seven years' war to escape from it. What a libel upon our republicanism, that a slave must fly from this republic, and seek shelter for his manhood and his liberty within the domains of a monarch; of that very monarch whose government our fathers paid such a price to throw off from themselves. Our doctrine is, that British monarchy is so oppressive that it is worth enduring all the evils which a seven years' war can inflict upon the land, in order to escape from it. And now we have set up something which is so much worse, than the best thing which we can do for the subjects of its oppression is to send them to that monarchy.

I recollect having heard of a rude and eccentric sort of a minister, who wished to give his hearers a vivid sense of the severity of punishment which they might receive in a future life, if they should die impenitent. 'You have not an idea,' said he, 'what a hot place hell is. Why! if a man had been in hell a long time, and was suddenly taken out and put in a furnace as hot as Lehigh coal could heat it, he would freeze to death in half a minute!' To be sure monarchy is as hot in our estimation as a Lehigh coal furnace, yet to one just come out of this hell of Slavery, monarchy, though it might not freeze him to death, would give him a very agreeable sensation of coldness. [Three groans.] I do not wonder our friends groan at such a fact. It has made me groan often enough, even to think of it; and I should think it would cause every true American, every lover of his country, to groan in his inmost spirit, 'with groanings which cannot be uttered.' [Laughter.]

We have resolved to change this state of things. We think we have borne this disgrace long enough. We have been the scoff of the opponents of liberty in the Old World long enough, and now we are determined that the slave shall find a place of refuge here, among the children of the men who bled at Bunker Hill, and Lexington, and Concord. We do not regard the Declaration of Independence as a mere 'fanfaronade of nonsense,' as it has been called by the slaveholders of the South. We mean to make it understood, that when the slave comes upon the soil of Massachusetts, the slave-trader must not come after him to catch him. He may come to visit us, and we will seat him at our tables, by the side of the very slave who has run away from him; and we have no doubt that the slave will exercise so much of the spirit of Christian forgiveness and humanity as not to resent the seeming debasement. We will permit him to listen to the words which have been hitherto suppressed by the terrors of the lash, but which he will now hear coming from the slave in all plainness and fidelity, but we trust also in all meekness and forgiving love. But beyond that we cannot go. We cannot allow that Massachusetts shall be made his hunting-ground. We cannot allow that the slaveholder shall make the law of the slaveholding States paramount over the majesty of Massachusetts law—paramount over the majesty of the Divine law as it is written upon our hearts, impressed upon our consciences; and therefore we frankly avow the purpose which we cherish in our utmost souls. We are agreed in the purpose. Let us agree in the frank avowal of it. Save the slaveholder the trouble and expense of taking a long journey upon a fruitless errand. I will not trespass upon your time, and will therefore conclude with the re-utterance of that pledge with which I commenced. [Loud cries of 'Mellen!' 'Mellen!']

Mr. Burleigh—The pledge is, that we will stand by the poor, that we will defend the cause of the weak, that we will shelter the outcast, that we will protect the victim of tyranny, and that to us a Henry Box Brown and a Mazzini, an Ellen Craft and a Kossuth, the self-exiled Irish patriot, and the self-exiled patriot of South Carolina shall be alike welcome to our hearts and our homes; welcome to our hospitality and to the protection of our laws and public sentiment, [Applause, and three cheers for 'Old Zach.'

Communications.

A SERMON ON GOVERNMENTS.

> "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; and that among these are LIFE, LIBERTY, and the PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That when any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the *right* of the people to *alter* or *abolish* it; and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."—*Declaration of Independence.*

These great truths were published to the world 74 years ago by the United Colonies of North America, when they had determined to throw off their allegiance to the British Government; because that Government had become destructive of the inalienable rights of man. Did they do right? No one who admits the truth of the propositions contained in the above text, and which are declared to be self-evident, can deny it. They did right then; for they not only had a *right* to do so, but it was their DUTY to do as they did. If revolution was right in that case, it is right in all similar cases. It is right then for the citizens of any government, if that government is oppressive or destructive of the rights of any of its subjects, to rise in rebellion and demand its overthrow, and the establishment of a new government, founded on the universal equality of man—a government that shall protect all its citizens in the enjoyment of their natural and inalienable rights. Applying this rule to the governments that at present exist, and how many would stand the test? How many of the present governments in the world would continue to exist if the people but did what it is their right and duty to do? NOT ONE. No, not the government of the United States, which professes to be the best and most liberal government on earth. If this government cannot stand the test, it must fall; it ought to fall. Some are greatly horrified at the thought of a dissolution of the Union of these States. So were the Tories of '76 alarmed, when, by the act of the Declaration of Independence, the Colonies dissolved their connection with the Mother Country. They cried out against it as the "patriots" of the present day cry out against a dissolution of the Union, and for the same cause—a fear of the consequences. Now if mankind are to be deterred from dissolving or abolishing political or other organizations for fear of the consequences, how are these systems of oppression called governments to be got rid of?

Let us now examine the cause which has of late threatened a dissolution of the Union, and see if this be sufficient to justify such an act. That cause is CHATTEL SLAVERY. Our Southern brethren have threatened, that if they are prevented from carrying their property into the new territories—if they are not allowed to extend the area of Slavery—if they are prohibited from polluting the soil, wrenched from a feeble neighbor by piratical warfare, with their accursed institution of human bondage, they will secede from the Union. And Northern men, instead of using every means in their power to exterminate the evil where it already exists, are so frightened by these threats of the slaveocracy that they (a great part of them) are willing that Slavery should spread and strengthen. "Slavery," they tell us, "if she fall, will fall like the strong man; she will embrace the pillars of the State, and pull down the Constitution along with her." Then down let them come together, and on their ruins erect a monument to their eternal infamy. They tell us that they *cannot interfere with Slavery in the States—such an act would be unconstitutional.* Yes it is unconstitutional to interfere when one citizen lays violent hands upon his fellow, and riveting upon his free-born limbs the galling chain, reduces the man and citizen into a slave, a chattel personal. But it is constitutional to interfere when a citizen of another country does less than this to a citizen of this country. We may then interfere and plunge the nation into a bloody war. Away with such stuff. If the Constitution forbids us do what justice, reason and humanity impel us to do, down with the Constitution. What is the Constitution? and whence did it originate that we must look up to it with such holy reverence, and be scrupulous to obey its commands in every particular? What right had our fathers to make laws for us which we are implicitly to obey? We have no right to legislate for posterity, neither had our ancestors a right to legislate for us. What might have appeared to them requisite and just, might appear odious and oppressive to us. They were not infallible.

The reason why the ultraists in the South wish a dissolution of the Union is on account of Northern aggressions, as they call them. By this they mean an unwillingness on the part of the North to submit to all their exorbitant demands. But there is a class in the North who wish a dissolution of the Union for a higher and nobler cause—because justice and humanity require it. They wish the Union dissolved because by that Union Slavery is sustained by the power and influence of the North; whereas if that support were cut off, Slavery must quickly die. Indeed some Southern men have declared that *a dissolution of the Union would be a death-blow to Slavery.* And thus this "dark spot upon the nation" rests upon the North as well as the South. It is for this cause, in part, that we wish the Union dissolved. It is to wipe out this foul blot, and cleanse us from the stain of this enormous crime, and thus by withdrawing our support from this institution hasten the emancipation of our enslaved brethren. I know it may be said, (as it often has been,) "that the North need not cry out against the South," and "that the North ought not to dissolve her Union with the South on account of Chattel Slavery, while she supports a system of wages Slavery, which is quite as bad. Now I deny the assertion that the latter kind of Slavery is as bad as the first; but if we allow that it is, it makes but little difference. Because a nation is guilty of two enormous crimes, she must not desist from the committal of the one which appears to her most heinous, and thus prepare the way for a thorough reformation, but must cut off *both* or *neither* of them. This is poor morality.

But whether the Union be dissolved or not, a total revolution in the Government is necessary in order to carry out the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and in order that the government should answer the ends for which it was, or should have been established. In 1776, when the American Colonies published the instrument from which my text is an extract, they assigned in that Declaration the causes which impelled them to the separation. Chief among these causes were the complaints that they were taxed without their consent and were held accountable to laws which they had no share in enacting, and to which they had never given their assent. This injustice to the people of the Colonies, on the part of the Mother Country, brought on a long and bloody war, and caused a severance of the bands which connected them together. Now the situation of a large portion of the citizens of the United States with respect to the government, is similar to the situation of the Colonists with respect to the government under which they lived and suffered. They are taxed without their consent; they are subject to laws which they did not assist in enacting, and to which they have never given their assent. I refer to the women and negroes. Is not such a government a despotism? and shall these things be forever meekly submitted to? I think not, unless the "spirit of '76" has entirely evaporated.

But the government has not only *done what it ought not to have done*, but *it has left undone many things which it ought to have done.* Our text tells us that the object of government is to secure to those living under that government the enjoyment of their natural and inalienable rights. It matters not whether the government by enacting laws to that purpose outrage these rights, or whether, by neglecting to enact laws, or carry the laws into effect, a part of the people are allowed to trespass upon the rights of the other part. In either case it has failed to answer the ends for which it was established; and it is, therefore, the right of the people to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security and safety.

The government has allowed some men to possess large tracts of land, thereby preventing others from possessing any portion of that which belongs to all men in common. This monopoly of the soil produces wages Slavery (if not chattel Slavery also)—a kind of Slavery which is peculiar to no lines of latitude or longitude, but exists in every part of the nation, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the great lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. It is a system that makes the poor the slaves of the rich; a system that has caused untold miseries to its hapless victims in all parts of the world; a system that has robbed the toiler of the products of his toil; that has compelled many to wear out a miserable existence worse than death; that has caused millions to perish by starvation in a land of plenty. These are but a few of the many things it has done. It has ruined Ireland, and is fast ruining America; and if left to grow and strengthen, will bring again the days of Feudalism, with all its barbarism and ignorance. We have not seen the worst effects of this infamous monopoly in this country as yet, for it has not become so great as in some of the nations of Europe. But what it has done there it may yet do here, if not crushed before it has acquired sufficient strength. But we have seen enough of its sad effects here, to make all well-wishers of the human race its mortal enemies, and *the hater of everything which supports it.*

This Government has allowed the poor man to be stripped of his all, to satisfy the demands of a heartless creditor. He may still, in some of the States, be driven from his home, purchased perhaps by many years of unremitting toil, and all but a few trifling things taken from him, to satisfy the unrelenting worshipper of mammon. The Manufacturer is allowed to sway an almost arbitrary sceptre, over those whom misfortune and a "lawless law" have placed within his power. The wrongs thus inflicted upon the poor, the weak, the helpless and unprotected, by the rich and powerful, seems to be enough, when fully reflected upon, to rouse the spirit of the most abject slave to forcible resistance.

The rights of conscience are abridged, by the acts of this Government. A chaplainship is established in our legislative halls, and those who differ in religious opinions from the praying mercenary, are obliged to pay their share of his salary. In a great many of the States, men entertaining certain opinions on religious subjects, are not allowed to testify in court; and the law also excludes them as teachers from the public schools. Men may also be fined and imprisoned, for uttering their honest sentiments on religious subjects,—and one and all, are or may lawfully be, compelled to observe a certain day of the week as holy time. And this is religious liberty!

Too much power is placed in the hands of some of the officers. For instance, the President may remove persons from certain offices, and supply their places with any persons that he may wish. The only crime of the person so removed may be, and often is, his differing in political opinion from this arbitrary servant of the "dear people." Thus in some cases the will of the President is law, and from his arbitrary mandate there is no appeal. *Is this* DEMOCRACY? *Is it not rather* DESPOTISM?

Representation is also very unequal under the existing government. The different States are not represented in the same proportion in the National Congress. I am unable to give some illustrations of this at present, as I have not the necessary statistics at hand; but the fact is well known. Besides some States are allowed Representatives for the property which they possess, while other States are not.

But the form of the government, is not truly democratic and just. It is almost or quite impossible for all men to enjoy their rights under a representative system of government; and especially in the present state of society. No man can be fully depended upon by the people, to represent them in their legislative halls, or in any department of the government. It is perhaps unnecessary to refer to the facts in the case to prove this, as it is well known to all; but the present incumbent of the Presidential chair, gives a forcible illustration of the truth of this assertion. Besides under the system, cases will occur, in which a certain class (and perhaps not a very small class ei citizens must go entirely unrepresented. And if it were possible, that men might be depended on to represent those who elect them to office, cases might unavoidably occur, in which laws would be passed, contrary to the wish of a majority of the people. To illustrate this we will suppose that the Legislature of a certain State, consists of 17 members, and that the basis of representation is such, that every 10,000 inhabitants are allowed one representative. We will now suppose that eight members are elected by the Democrats and nine by the Whigs—that the eight Democrats received each a majority of three thousand (3,000) votes, and that the Whigs received each a majority of one hundred (100) votes. Now the Democrats are elected by the votes of fifty-two thousand (52,000), and therefore represent that number of votes; while the Whigs are elected by the votes of but forty-five thousand, four hundred and fifty (45,450); and are nevertheless in the majority. Thus the representative system is attended with wrongs which are inavoidable, and must or should give way to some other system of government, which shall dispense equal and exact justice to all. I think I have shown in the foregoing, that a dissolution of the Union, or a complete revolution in the government, is necessary and right. But I may be told, that it is not *expedient* at this time to do such a thing. And why not expedient? Shall they whose rights are trampled upon, and they who are stripped of every right; await the will and pleasure of their oppressors, for the restoration of their rights? Shall they continue despoiled of those rights, and suffer on, until their tyrant masters think they can restore them with perfect safety to themselves! No! Whatever is right is expedient, and if the measures which I have advocated are *not* right, then the Declaration of Independence is a LIE, and the signers of that memorable document were all *knaves or fools.*

WALTER FARRINGTON.

WAPPINGER'S FALLS, July 4th, 1850.

LETTER FROM G. W. F. MELLEN.

MR. GAY:

In the report of the proceedings of the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention, in the colloquy that took place between Mr. Burleigh and myself, I am made to say, "He (Daniel Webster) says, the country has never agreed to return the runaway slave, and that, therefore, he will take advantage of the wrong already accomplished—will return the fugitive slave, and thus make Slavery perpetual in this country." This was not what I said, and I could have wished you had published my remarks, and the Convention had let me go on in my speech; or, if you will publish the communication I sent you sometime since, there will be no occasion for any misunderstanding, and, as I think there is an important distinction in what I said and what is reported, I here state it, that I may be rightly understood, and trust that you will be kind enough to make the correction. The ideas were these: that Daniel Webster had stated, in the first part of his speech, that the country had never agreed to return the fugitive *slave*, but only those that *owed service*, and had also said he would take advantage of the wrong that the Democrats have committed, and admit four more slave States, that might be carved out of Texas; that he then said he would go for Mason's bill, and, in direct terms, he would go for the return of the *fugitive slave*—a thing which he himself declares the framers of the Constitution never agreed to do; and I argued from that, if he was willing to take advantage of the one wrong, why might he not, if Mason's bill should pass, and for which he said he would go, take advantage of his own wrong, and make Slavery perpetual in this country; the distinction between the one expression and the other being, that while, as you have reported it, it would imply that Mr. Webster thought that, by the admission of Texas, the country had so far committed itself to Slavery, that a legal decision could be based on that committal, while the idea I meant to convey was, that as J. C. Calhoun had said the South, under the Constitution, was not safe, and as Mr. Clay and Mr. Mason, together with Mr. Webster, had been urging upon the Senate the passage of a bill to return the *fugitive slave*, which Mr. Webster had said the Constitution did not require, he wants to commit the country to that object; and having done it, he could take advantage of the commitment, and make Slavery perpetual, unless he greatly misunderstood him; that was the object of his speech, and it is this which I thought the country ought to know, believing, as I do, that, if they should do it, the whole laboring population of this country would eventually be reduced to Slavery, and, in a series of years, would be worse off than the Irish people, that our Constitution would be trampled in the dust, and instead of being a free country, it would be ruled by a slaveholding oligarchy.

Yours, G. W. F. MELLEN.

Resolved, That whereas the Hon. Henry Clay has brought before the Senate of the United States a series of resolutions, one of which recommends the return of the runaway slave, and Mr. Mason, of Virginia, has brought in a bill, one clause of which secures his return, under heavy penalties, and Mr. Webster says he will vote for this bill; therefore,

Resolved, That a crisis has arrived when all the lovers of Liberty, whether in the Whig, Democratic or Liberty Parties, and in all of the religious parties, or belonging to no party, should join their united efforts, not only to prevent the extension of Slavery into new territories, but to break up Slavery wherever it exists in this United States, if it is desired by them, to prevent the laboring class of the people from becoming slaves, whether they are now bond or free; and the New England Anti-Slavery Convention would call on all, that desire to have the blessings of Liberty secured to themselves, or their posterity, to prevent the right of property in man from being acknowledged by our Government—a thing which the Constitution does not, and the Government never formally have done; and the people of all parties, and of no party, are specially called upon never to return a runaway slave. It is only when a man owes service (not servitude—a distinction which the Convention recognized) that the Constitution requires a man on claim to be given up. Let the service (not servitude), therefore, be proved to be *due*, by contract made between the parties, before a person is surrendered on the claim of another. The Convention that framed the Constitution, though asked to return the runaway slave, refused so to do.

Resolved, That as the people of Great Britain found it necessary, in order more fully to secure their liberties, under their Magna Charta and their writ of Habeas Corpus, to attach a sanction to the violation of the latter, so it is the opinion of this Convention that the people of the United States, since the case of Prigg vs. the State of Pennsylvania, and the above declaration of their distinguished Statesmen, will find it necessary, in order to give effect to that portion of the Constitution which secures the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus to every individual in our land, saving when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require its suspension, to have the Judges of the United States Court, the District Attornies, and the Marshals, heavily fined, if they should not perform their several duties in the premises, when called upon to act, by the several parties that may be interested, to have its privilege secured to themselves or their friends.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Country are especially due to Governeur Morris of the convention that formed the constitution for the special care he took to secure the privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus to every person in the land, and the manner in which he openly thwarted the purposes of the delegates from Georgia and South Carolina in their attempts to have Slavery guaranteed or acknowledged in the Constitution of our Country.

Resolved, That the negro is a man, and that science truly declares him to be such; and that there is no greater distinction between him and the white man in the confirmation of their several parts and organs, than there is between different families of white men, when situated in different latitudes or longitudes, or even in the same latitudes and longitudes, and the oneness of the human race, aside from revelation of the Scriptures and the general similarity of their external outlines, is amply proved by phrenology, and the fact that the same ideas, thoughts, feelings, affections, have been of the same character, in whatever age or condition of the world man has given utterance or expression to those thoughts, feelings, or affections, in fact it is our opinion, the oneness of the human race, is amply substantiated in this latter ground alone.

Resolved, That this convention approves, and would recommend the people of this country, to sustain the bill brought forward by the Hon. Wm. H. Seward, to secure the trial by jury for the fugitive from service, and the fining the Judges of the United States Courts &c., if they should in any case refuse the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus, to whomsoever may apply for it.

General Intelligence.

REFORMATION AT THE "FIVE POINTS."—It will be gratifying to every citizen and friend of humanity to know that an energetic and well directed movement is in progress for the moral renovation of that foul sink of iniquity, known as the Five Points. At the last annual meeting of the M. E. Church, L. M. Pease was appointed missionary to the "Centre street Mission," as it was called, (the formation of which had for some years been in contemplation by certain ladies connected with that denomination,) with the view of commencing a reformatory movement in that notoriously bad locality. On surveying his prospective field of labor, he determined to commence operations on the corner of Cross and Little Water street, immediately on the Five Points. A room, formerly occupied as a liquor store, of a sufficient capacity to accommodate two hundred individuals, was secured and fitted up with seats lights, &c. A Sabbath school was organized, with about 40 scholars in attendance. This was but a few weeks ago. There are now about 100 scholars. Preaching is also held three times a day on the Sabbath. In the evening and afternoon, the house is not large enough by half to contain the people who assemble. In addition to this, a Temperance Society was organized three weeks ago, attached to which there are now 100 members. Mr. Pease found, upon undertaking the difficult task assigned him, that it was impossible to promote efficiently the moral interests of the impoverished and abandoned creatures he was endeavoring to benefit, without first attending to their physical necessities. Multitudes were found who were brought into their present circumstances by misfortune, and who were unable to procure work, though desirous of so doing. The chapel was forthwith transformed into a kind of work-house, and some seventy individuals are employed in making shirts, &c, at the usual rates paid for similar labor by shirt dealers. The benevolent persons engaged in this enterprise, are also taking measures to erect a large and suitable place of worship. The "Old Brewery," or some other site may be selected.

The policemen of the ward co-operate in carrying out the objects of this mission, and numerous keepers of disorderly houses have been indicted or arrested,—sixty-eight, we are informed. Sixteen, upon giving bail to the amount of $500, have been released. The Five Points are now comparatively deserted. Many buildings are vacant, and others are likely to be so, unless occupied for better purposes than heretofore. Of course a strong feeling of exasperation is excited in some quarters, and those engaged in the work, have been repeatedly threatened with loss of life.—*Journal of Commerce.*

THE FAMILY OF PRESIDENT FILLMORE.—An evening paper of yesterday, speaking of President Fillmore, and his family, says:—In regard to his political relations, they are well known in our State, which has always delighted to honor him; but the wire-pullers should have the delicacy to let him alone until the remains of the lamented President are entombed. In regard to his family, the President is blessed with a most excellent wife, who is peculiarly well qualified for the high station she is about to adorn; and two children, a son and a daughter.

The son is a young man, not over twenty, of the genuine republican stamp which characterizes the country boys of Western New York. He has just entered upon the profession of the law. The daughter is an accomplished young lady, about eighteen years of age, and now engaged, we believe, in the honorable employment as teacher of a public school in Buffalo.

The latter fact is something for a republican people to boast of; and something to put the dainty daughters of our would-be aristocracy to the blush.

A MODEL MOTHER-IN-LAW.—One T. Bigelow Lawrence (son of Abbot Lawrence, of Boston,) not long ago advertised his wife, announcing "that he would pay no debts of her contracting." Upon this provocation she procured a divorce in Kentucky. Mr. Lawrence now comes out to defend himself.

Mr. Lawrence is in the calico business. He got a wife (who was known as the Great Western Belle,) on calico principles—"colors warranted not to run." On taking her home, after a family inspection it was found that, in technical phrase, the color was not "fast." She got her complexion at the Chemist. Hereupon all the Lawrences were wroth; and a great family quarrel ensued, which has ended in a divorce, upon the most approved mercantile principles. Some of the private correspondence between the "two houses" is made public—and such a tissue of mean and vulgar stuff has seldom been seen by the public. There is one letter, however, which we cannot forbear republishing. It is from Mrs. Ward of Ky., to her daughter, the wife aforesaid of T. Bigelow Lawrence:

"I am going to write you a real war letter. You say you are acting by Mr. Lawrence's command, and you are unhappy by so doing. Then let me advise you in this case; seem to obey, but do as you please. If you use proper caution he can never know it. You say I can imagine your appearance now; yes, Sallie, I can, and nothing to object to either. You are better looking without complexion than with too much. This I have always said. But if you think differently, then do what will make you happy. You could not be less so, I should judge, under any circumstances. Then never fear Mr Lawrence's anger, it could not be more than what you are now enduring.

"Now, dear Sallie, if you would take the right means, he could never discover it You must begin with caution, and keep it up. The most delicate thing possible is all you want. If you have no more, defy the opinion of the universe, the commands of Mr. Lawrence and every one else. Stick to it with some of your mother's spunk. Could you be worse off than now? You are miserable now; could you be more so then? It can't last long, and you leave giving out to others. My dear child, determine one of two things—to give it up at once, or stick to it in defiance of all and everything that may oppose. You cannot live long as you are. Then, *Sallie, be a woman*, and act as one in future. I know you are careless with your letters. Now, do burn this as soon as read."—*Albany Atlas.*

THE CLOSING OF THE CUBAN INVADERS TRIAL AT NEW ORLEANS.—Mr. Henderson appeared in Court yesterday morning in custody of the U. S. Marshal.

Logan Hunton, the United States District Attorney, moved that under the provisions of the act of Congress, August 8, 1846, that the indictments against Narcisco Lopez, J. Sigur, John Henderson, J. A. Quitman, C. P. Smith, Theodore O'Hara, J. T. Pickett, T. T. Hawkins and others, be remitted to the next December term of the U. S. Circuit Court for trial.

Mr. Henderson opposed the motion in his own behalf, on the ground that under the Constitution of the United States, and the act of Congress of 1842, he was entitled to a speedy trial, and that for the trial of criminal cases the District Court was bound to hold monthly terms.

The Court remarked in giving its decision, that by the act of 1846 this Court was vested with discretionary power in all cases in which important and difficult questions of law were involved, to remit the trial thereof to a Circuit Court, where the District Judge might be aided by an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Greater justice could there be meeted out to the parties concerned, and in case of a division of opinion between the Judges an appeal would lie. For these and other important reasons it felt compelled to adjourn the trial of these cases until the next term of the Circuit Court.

Mr. H. here asked the Judge whether, under his decision, he would be obliged to remain in prison all Summer.

The Court remarked, the gentleman was abundantly able to furnish security. The Marshal was then ordered to adjourn the Court *sine die.*

Mr. Henderson subsequently gave bond in the Clerk's office in the sum of $8,000, with H. G. Heart for security.

We learn that the Marshal has been authorized by the Court, in arresting parties residing out of the State, should they appear in the city during the vacation of the Court, to take them before Robert M. Usher, U. S. Commissioner, to give bond for their appearance.—*N. O. Pic. June 27.*

SLAVE PROPERTY.—We observe that it is going the rounds of the newspapers, that there are fifteen hundred millions of dollars worth of slave property in the fifteen slave States of this Union. This we do not believe; allowing three millions of slaves, this estimate would be five hundred dollars a head for old men, old women and children, lame, halt, blind, &c., as well as the young and middle aged men and women. This estimate is too high. Two or three hundred each at most, would be nearer the value all sorts, sizes, &c., considered, which would make the market value from six to $900,000,000 only; but the real value is *less* than nothing; the slaveholders are *eaten* up by them; they must keep them, find and cloth them and pay the doctor's bills, winter and summer, whether they have work for them or not; indeed in most cases it would be far cheaper to hire their labor. And again, not only the slaveholders, but the country is blighted and impoverished by the foot print of the slave. Slavery is a loss and a curse both to master and slave, but more particularly to poor whites residing in slave States.—*Wilmington (Delaware) Chicken.*

RUMORED SLAVE INSURRECTION.—The *Centerville* (Md.) *Sentinel* of Tuesday last says: "The good citizens of Kent Island were greatly alarmed during last week, in consequence of a rumor which was current, to the effect that an insurrection of the negroes was about to take place. They patrolled the Island for several nights in succession, but nothing was discovered to increase their fears. We suspect that the rumor had its origin in some wag of a fellow who wished to play off a joke. If such be the fact, and he can be found out, they ought to give him a ducking in the Chesapeake, for a rebellion is too serious a matter for a joke."

The Free Soil folks lament exceedingly Mr. Hale's proposed resignation of his seat in the Senate, in order to practice law in New York. Why dont they raise a fund, and *fee* the patriotic advocate to remain in Congress?—*Boston Post.*

We leave the feeing of Senators to people about Boston, adds the *Evening Post* of this city.

The Homestead Exemption act, which passed the New Hampshire House, has been defeated in the Senate.

THE cholera at the West is gradually extending itself into the small towns of the interior. At Shelbyville and Drennon, in Kentucky, half a dozen fatal cases are reported, and as many more at Rock Spring Mills, in the same State. At Columbus, Ohio, the first fatal case occurred on the 8th instant. It is reported as rather on the decline, though still prevalent and fatal at all the larger Western cities.

FREE SOIL MEETING.—A mass meeting of the Free Soil party of Herkimer county was held at Herkimer on the 13. Extra trains were run from Little Falls. General Dix was present, and delivered a speech which lasted an hour and a half. He spoke in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, and in favor of admitting California as asked for by that State. He delivered an eloquent eulogy on the late President. Much enthusiasm was shown by the assembly at intervals during his speech, especially when he referred to Taylor. The resolutions were voluminous, and took strong ground on the question of admitting California, &c. Letters from John Van Buren and several other persons were then read, It was recommended by the meeting that other counties in this State call similar meetings.

The assemblage was larger than was expected; much larger than was contemplated in the arrangements made for their accommodation. Had it not been that the season was an excessively busy one for the farmers, the crowd would have been immense.—*Post.*

REMARKABLE PHENOMENON.—We are indebted to Mr. John Spaulding of this place, for the following interesting particulars of a singular phenomenon that took place at Two Heart river, Lake Superior. About eleven o'clock in the day of about the 18th ultimo, Mr. Spaulding's attention was attracted to a slight agitation of the water near the shore; and very soon he saw, with surprise, the land suddenly rising out of the water, a few rods from the shore, and within a stone's throw of himself. The beach opposite was also raised up at the same time to a height of twelve feet

The new island is round and about one hundred and fifty feet in circumference, and is raised above the water six feet, and the rise on the beach, which is wide at this place, is of about the same size, and looks like a hillock of sand. The new Island was at first covered with sand and pebbles, like the bottom of the lake, but the waves have dashed over it since and washed it down to a black clay. The water was about five feet deep where the island was formed, and a boat had passed over the very spot not five minutes before its formation.

A few rods from the beach, back on the rise of ground, a great depression of the earth took place, as remarkable as the upheaving in the water. A circular spot of ground, some fifty rods in circumference, covered with trees, was suddedly sunk down to the depth of 20 feet below the surface.

No agitation of the earth, or shock, or noise, took place, and the cause must have been much less powerful than the internal convulsions of the earth that usually accompany such phenomena; and still it is worthy the notice and consideration of geologists and scientific inquirers after truth.—*Lake Superior Journal of July 8.*

RECEIPTS FOR THE STANDARD,

From June 1st to July 1st, 1850.

MASSACHUSETTS.	
540 Amasa Southwick, Leicester,	2 00
573 Samuel May, "	2 00
573 Austin Flint, "	2 00
553 Lydia E Chace, Worcester,	2 00
549 David Joy, Northampton,	2 00
540 Rev. Rufus Ellis, "	2 00
523 Moses Joy, Nantucket,	1 00
521 D. A. Hathaway, Warren,	2 00
573 E. F. Burnham, Danvers,	2 00
572 Mary G. Chapman, Boston,	2 00
572 Richard Clapp, Dorchester,	4 00
521 E. Stebbins, S. Wilbraham,	2 00
534 Dr. J. Fiske, Fall River,	1 00
572 Levi Farnsworth, Fitchburgh,	2 00
521 Alex. Harvey, Plympton,	2 00
522 G. Valentine, Worcester,	2 10
573 Henrietta Sargent, Boston,	2 00
576 Solomon Dickinson, Hatfield,	2 00
550 W. Wright, Northampton,	1 00
586 D. Ricketson, New Bedford,	2 50
577 W. Tillinghast, Bridgewater,	2 00
546 D. P. Livermore, Stafford Ct.,	1 00
NEW YORK.	
573 H. W. Smith, N. Y. City,	2 00
510 Jarvis Johnson, "	8 50
506 Mary Pigream, "	1 00
572 Mathias Hutchinson, King's Ferry,	2 00
521 Sarah Jane Fuller, Barryville,	56
496 Israel Potter, Norfolk Ct.,	1 00
573 J. C. Hathaway, Farmington,	5 00
517 E. D. Phelphs, Brewerton,	2 50
568 David Soule, Milton,	2 00
574 Dr. A. G. S. Gale, Port Richmond,	2 00
556 Stephen Howland, Red Creek,	1 50
520 Pliny Sexton, Palmyra,	2 00
529 W. G. Barker, Walworth,	2 00
533 J. R. Ames, Albany,	2 00
556 John Dysslyn, Newville,	8 00
PROMISCUOUS.	
580 Jno. Begbie, Newark, N. J.	2 00
676 Ben. Brown, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2 50
573 Lewis Benedict, Lowell, Wis.	2 00
541 A. H. Freeman, Orange, N. J	4 00
540 Luther Boyd, New Pittsburgh, O.	2 00
513 S. S. Phelps, Mayville, Wis.	2 50

DONATION.

Rowland Johnson, New York City,	$5 00

THE ONE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS,

Held pursuant to a resolution adopted at the recent New England Anti-Slavery Convention,

Will continue with meetings at the following named places:

MILFORD, (Worcester County.)
Saturday Evening and Sunday, July 20 and 21.
[This Convention will be attended by CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, S. S. FOSTER, and SAMUEL MAY, Jr.]

SOUTH HINGHAM, (Plymouth County,)
Sunday July 28.
[This meeting will be held in the Congregational (Unitarian) meeting-house, and is to be attended by PARKER PILLSBURY and N. H. WHITING.]

ANDOVER, (Essex County.)
Saturday Evening and Sunday, July 27 and 28.

THE FIRST OF AUGUST.
ANNIVERSARY OF EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS

The Board of Managers of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY having voted that they would celebrate the approaching Anniversary of West India Emancipation by a public meeting in the city of WORCESTER, the Committee of Arrangements would give notice, that the use of the beautiful and spacious CITY HALL of Worcester has been granted for that occasion; and on behalf of the Society, and for the sake of the three million slaves of this country, whose emancipation is still delayed and scornfully refused, they would invite all the true sons and daughters not of Massachusetts alone, but of New England, to assemble on that day in WORCESTER, and renew the demand for that Emancipation in the name of Justice, of Humanity, and of God.

Let early, extensive, and general preparation be made for a meeting which shall surpass all that have gone before.

It should be remembered that Worcester is peculiarly easy of access, by rail-road, not only from other parts of the State, but from Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont; and it is hoped and earnestly desired that a numerous delegation will be present from each of those States.

☞ Further particulars hereafter.

For the Committee,

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

GREAT AGRICULTURAL WORK!

The Farmer's Guide

TO

SCIENTIFIC AND PRACTICAL AGRICULTURE.

BY HENRY STEPHENS, F. R. S. E.,

Author of the "Book of the Farm." Editor of the "Quarterly Journal of Agriculture," &c, &c., assisted by JOHN P. NORTON, A. M., Professor of Scientific Agriculture in Yale College, New Haven, Author of Agricultural Prize Essays, &c. &c.

THIS highly valuable work will comprise two large royal octavo volumes, containing over 1400 pages, with 18 or 20 splendid steel engravings, and more than 600 engravings on wood, in the highest style of the art, illustrating almost every implement of husbandry now in use by the best farmers, the best methods of ploughing, planting, haying, harvesting, &c. &c., the various domestic animals in their highest perfection; in short, the *pictorial* feature of the book is unique, and will render it of incalculable value to the student of agriculture.

This great work is the joint production of two of the most talented agricultural scholars of the day; the one eminent as an author and editor in Great Britain, and the other as a Professor in Yale College. Both are eminently practical as well as scientific men, and all they say may be relied on as the result of profound research, tested and sustained by practical experiment. The contributions of Professor Norton are chiefly designed to adapt the British portion of the book to this country, and thus to make it an Anglo-American work, giving to its readers all the really useful agricultural knowledge at present attainable in either country.

The work is divided into four departments distinguished by the four seasons of the year, commencing with Winter, and Professor Norton's notes will be published as an appendix to each part. The first chapter treats of the following subjects, under the head of

INITIATION.

On the best of the existing Methods for acquiring a thorough knowledge of practical Husbandry.
On the Difficulties to be encountered in learning Practical Husbandry, and on the Means of overcoming them.
On the different kinds of Farming.
On the Persons required to Conduct and Execute the Labor of the Farm.
On the Branches of Science most applicable to Agriculture.
On the Institutions of Education best suited to Agricultural Science.
On the Evils attending the neglect of Landowners and others to learn practical Agriculture.
On observing the details and recording the facts of Farming by the Agricultural Student.

TERMS OF THE WORK.—The American edition, the first number of which is already issued, will be published in semi-monthly numbers of 64 pages, with an English steel engraving in each number, of which there will be about 22 in all. Price 25 cents per Number, or $5 in advance for the 22 Numbers.

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Miscellany.

From The Home Journal.

JANE PORTER.

AUTHORESS OF "SCOTTISH CHIEFS," THADDEUS OF WARSAW," ETC. ETC.

This distinguised woman died recently at Bristol, England, at the age of seventy-four. We shall, doubtless, soon have an authentic biography of her, from some one to whom her papers and other materials will have been entrusted by the brother who survives her; but, meantime, let us yield to the tide of remembrance which her death has awakened, and arrest, ere they float by and are lost, the scattered leaf-memories that may recall the summers when we knew her. For sixteen years that we enjoyed the privilege of her friendship, her correspondence with us was interrupted only by illness, and we hope yet to find the leisure to put some of those high-thougted and invaluable letters into print—true reflex as they are of the lofty and true mind which made her fame. Our present memoranda will be brief, with a view to that better justice to the theme.

We first saw Miss Porter at the house of Lady S——, the sister of Lady Franklin, a few weeks after our first arrival in London, 1834. It was a large party, thronged with the scientific and literary persons who form the society of a man like Sir John Franklin. The great navigator, whose fate now excites so deep an interest, was present, and he was almost the only celebrity in the room whom we did not then see for the first time—Sir John having been in command of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, and Lady Franklin at Athens when we chanced to be there. The noble head and majestic frame of the fine old sailor showed in strong relief, even among the gret men who surronnded him, and we well remember the confirmed impression, of his native dignity and superiority of presence, which we received at that time.

A very tall lady, apparently about fifty years of age, had arrested our attention early in the evening, and, whenever unoccupied, we found ourself turning to observe her, with a magnetism which we could not resist. She was dressed completely in black with black lace upon the neck, and black feathers drooping over the knot of her slightly grey hair. Her person was very erect, and, though her conversation was evidently playful with all who spoke with her, there was an exceeding loftiness, and an air of unconscious and easy nobility, in her mein and countenance, which was truly remarkable. She was like the ideal which one forms of a Lady Abbess of noble blood, or of Queen Katherine. The defference with which she was addressed was mingled invariably with an affectionate cordiality, however, which puzzled our conjectures a little, for it is not common to see the two feelings inspired with equal certainty by the same presence. It chanced to be late in the evening before we had an opportunity of enquiring the name of this lady, and, when we heard who she was, we recognized at once that very unusual phenomenon—a complete fitness of the outer temple to the fame whose deathless lamp is enshrined within it. It was Jane Porter, and she looked as one would have expected her to look, who had conjured up her image by aid of magic, after being carried away by her enchantments of story.

We were presented to Miss Porter just before the breaking up of the party that evening, and soon after, we were so fortunate as to be a guest, with her, at one of those English country-houses which are the perfection of luxury and refinement, and where there was the opportunity to see her with her proper surroundings. Of the impression received at that time, we have already made a slight record which some of our readers may remember:—

"One of the most elegant and agreeable persons I ever saw was Miss Jane Porter, and I think her conversation more delightful to remember than any person's I ever knew. A distinguished artist told me that he remembered her when she was his beau-ideal of beauty; but in those days she was more "fancy rapt," and gave in less to the current and spirit of society. Age has made her, if it may be so expressed, less selfish in her use of thought, and she pours it forth like Pactolus—that gold which is sand from others. She is still what I should call a handsome woman, or, if that be not allowed, she is the wreck of more than the common allotment of beauty, and looks it. Her person is remarkably erect, her eyes and eyelids (in this latter resembling Scott) very heavily moulded, and her smile is beautiful. It strikes me that it always is so—where it ever was. The smile seems to be the work of the soul.

"I have passed months under the same roof with Miss Porter, and nothing gave me more pleasure than to find the company in that hospitable house dwindled to a 'fit audience though few,' and gathered around the figure in deep mourning which occupied the warmest corner of the sofa. In any vein, and *appropos* to the gravest and the gayest subject, her well-stored mind and memory flowed forth in the same rich current of mingled story and reflection, and I never saw an impatient listener beside her.—I recollect, one evening, a lady's singing 'Auld Robin Gray,' and some one remarking (rather unsentimentally), at the close, 'By-the-by, what is Lady ——— (the authoress of the ballad) doing with so many carpenters. Berkeley-square is quite deafened with their hammering!' '*Apropos* of carpenters and Lady ———,' said Miss Porter, 'this charming ballad writer, owes something to the craft. She was better-born than provided with the gifts of fortune, and in her younger days was once on a visit to a noble house, when, to her dismay, a large and fashionable company arrived, who brought with them a mania for private theatricals. Her wardrobe was very slender, barely sufficient for the ordinary events of a week-day, and her purse contained one solitary shilling. To leave the house was out of the question, to feign illness as much so, and to decline taking a part was impossible, for her talent and sprightliness were the hope of the theatre. A part was cast for her, and, in despair. she excused herself from the gay party bound to the country town to make purchases of silk and satin, and shut herself up, a prey to mortified low spirits. The character required a smart village dress, and it certainly did not seem that it could come out of a shilling. She sat at her window, biting her lips, and turning over in her mind whether she could borrow of some one, when her attention was attracted to a carpenter, who was employed in the construction of a stage in the large hall, and who, in the court below, was turning off from his plane broad and long shavings of a peculiarly striped wood. It struck her that it was like ribbon. The next moment she was below, and begged of the man to give her half-a-dozen lengths as smooth as he could shave them. He performed his task well, and, depositing them in her apartment, she set off alone on horseback to the village, and with her single shilling succeeded in purchasing a chip hat of the coarsest fabric. She carried it home, exultingly, trimmed it with her pine shavings, and on the evening of the performance appeared with a white dress, and hat and belt ribbons which were the envy of the audience. The success of her invention gave her spirits an assurance, and she played to admiration. The sequel will justify my first remark. She made a conquest on that night of one of her titled auditors, whom she afterward married. You will allow that Lady ——— may afford to be toleraut of carpenters.' '

It was two years after this first meeting of Miss Porter at ——— Park, that we accepted an invitation to meet her at the house of a baronet in Warwickshire, and of that visit the following mention is made in Sketches of Travel already published:—

"I remembered a promise I had nearly forgotten, that I would reserve my vist to Stratford till I could be accompanied by Miss J. Porter, whom I was to have the honor of meeting at my place of destination; and promising an early acceptance of the landlady's invitation, I hurried on to my appointment over the fertile hills of Warwickshire.

"I was established in one of those old Elizabethan country-houses, which, with their vast parks, their self-sufficing resources of subsistence and company, and the absolute defference shown on all sides to the lord of the manor, give one the impression rather of a little kingdom with a castle in its heart, than an abode for a gentleman subject. The house itself (called like most houses of this size and consequence in Warwickshire a 'Court,') was a Gothic, half-castellated square, with four round towers, and innumerable embrasures and windows; two wings in front, probably more modern than the body of the house, and again two long wings extending to the rear, at right angles, and enclosing a flowery and formal parterre. There had been a trench about it now filled up, and at a short distance from the house stood a polyangular and massive structure, well calculated for defence, and intended as a stronghold for the retreat of the family and tenants in more troubled times. One of these rear wings enclosed a Catholic chapel, for the worship of the baronet and those of his tenants who professed the same faith, while on the northern side, between the house and the garden stood, a large Protestant stone church, with a turret and spire, both chapel and church, with their clergyman and priest, dependant on the estate, and equally favored by the libral and high-minded baronet. The tenantry formed two considerable congregations, and lived and worshiped side by side, with the most perfect harmony—an instance of real Christianity, in my opinion, which the angels of heaven might come down to see. A lovely rural graveyard for the lord and tenants, and a secluded lake below the garden, in which hundreds of wild ducks swam and screamed unmolested, completed the outward features of C—— Court.

"There are noble houses in England, with a door communicating from the dining-room to the stables, that the master and his friends may see their favorites, after dinner, without exposure to the weather. In the place of this rather *bizarre* luxury, the oak-pannelled and spacious dining-hall of C—— is on a level with the organ loft of the chapel, and when the cloth is removed, the large door between is thrown open, and the noble instrument pours the rich and thrilling music of vespers through the rooms. When the service is concluded, and the lights on the altar extinguished, the blind organist (an accomplised musician, and a tenant on the estate,) continues his voluntaries in the dark until the hall-door informs him of the retreat of the company to the drawing room. There is not only refinement and luxury in this beautiful arrangement, but food for the soul and heart.

"I chose my room from among the endless vacant but equally luxurious chambers of the rambling old house; my preference solely directed by the portrait of a nun, one of the family in ages gone by—a picture full of melancholy beauty, which hung opposite the window. The face was distinguished by all that in England marks the gentlewoman of ancient and pure descent; and while it was a woman with the more tender qualities of her sex breathing through her features, it was still a lofty and sainted sister, true to her cross, and sincere in her vows and seclusion It was the work of a master, probably Vandyke, and a picture in which the most solitary man would find company and communion. On the other walls, and in most of the other rooms and corridors, were distributed portraits of the gentleman and soldiers of the family, most of them bearing some resemblance to the nun, but differing as brothers in those wild times may be supposed to have differed, from the gentle creatures of the same blood, nursed in the privacy of peace."

Warwick Castle, Stratford-on-Avon, and Kenilworth, were all within the reach of what might be called neighborhood, and our hospitable host, (in his eightieth year, and unable to accompany us,) had made the arrangements for our visit to these places.

We were to be gone three days, but were to remain his guests in all respects. The carriage was packed with the books which might be needed for reference, the butler of the old Baronet was to go with us and provide post-horses and everything we could want at inns upon the road, and, under his kind and luxurious provision, we took seat beside Miss Porter, and visited Kenilworth, Warwick, and Stratford, with no thought or care which need divide our pleasure in her society. From the description of this journey, (given without mention of the above circumstances,) let us copy one more passage:—

"I had wandered away from my companion, Miss Jane Porter, to climb to a secret staircase in the wall, rather too difficult of ascent for a female foot, and from my elevated position I caught an accidental view of the distinguished lady through the arch of a Gothic window, with a background of broken architecture and foilage—presenting, by chance, the most fitting and admirable picture of the authoress of the 'Scottish Chiefs,' that a painter in his brightest hour could have fancied. Miss Porter, with her tall and striking figure, her noble face (said by Mr. Martin Shee to have approached nearer in its youth to his *beau ideal* of the female features than any other, and still possessing the remains of uncommon beauty,) is at all times a person whom it would be difficult to see without a feeling of involuntary admiration. But standing, as I saw her at that moment, motionless and erect in the morning dress, with dark feathers, which she has worn since the death of her beloved and gifted sister, her wrists folded across, her large and still beatiful eyes fixed on a distant object in the view, and her nobly-cast lineaments reposing in their usual calm and benevolent tranquility, while, around and above her, lay the material and breathed the spirit over which she had held the first great mastery; it was a *tablaeu vivant* which I was sorry to be alone to see.

"Was she thinking of the great mind that had evoked the spirits of the ruins she stood among—a mind in which (by Sir Walter's own confession) she had first bared the vein of romance which breathed so freely for the world's delight? Were the visions which sweep with such supernatural distinctness and rapidity through the imagination of genius—visions of which the millionth portion is probably scarcely communicated to the world in a literary lifetime—were Elizabeth's courtiers, Elizabeth's passions, secret hours, interviews with Leicester—were the imprisoned king's nights of loneliness and dread, his hopes, his indignant, but unheeded thoughts—were all the possible circumstances, real or imaginary, of which that proud castle might have been the scene, thronging in those few moments of revery through her fancy? or was her heart busy with its kindly affections, and had the beauty and interest of the scene but awakened a thought of one who was most wont to number with her the sands of those brighter hours?

"Who shall say? The very question would perhaps startle the thoughts beyond recall—so illusive are even the most angelic of the mind's unseen visitants."

In another place we made the following memoranda of what we knew of her biography, etc.:—

"Miss Porter was the daughter of a gallant English officer, who died, leaving a widow and four children, then very young, but three of them destined to remarkable fame, Sir Robert, Ker Porter, Jane Porter, and Anna Maria Porter. Sir Robert, as is well known, was the celebrated historical painter, traveller in Persia, soldier, diplomatist, and author, lately deceased. He went to Russia with one of his great pictures when very young, married a wealthy Russian princess, and passed his subseqeunt years between the camp and diplomacy, honored and admired in every station and relation of his life. The two girls were playmates and neighbors of Sir Walter Scott. Jane published her 'Scottish Chiefs,' at the age of eighteen, and became immediately the great literary wonder of her time. Her widowed mother however withdrew her immediately from society to the seclusion of a country town, and she was little seen in the gay world of London before several of her works had become classics. Anna Maria, the second sister, commenced her admirable series of novels soon after the first celebrity of Jane's works, and they wrote and passed the brightest years of their life together in a cottage retreat. The two sisters were singularly beautiful. Sir Thomas Lawrence was an unsucessful suitor to Anna Maria, and Jane was engaged to a young soldier who was killed in the Peninsula. She is a woman to have but one love in a lifetime. Her betrothed was killed when she was twenty years of age, and she has ever since worn mourning, and remained true to his memory, Jane is now the only survivor of the three; her admirable mother and her sister having died some twelve or tourteen years ago, and Sir Robert having died lately, while revisiting England after many years' diplomatic residence in Venezuela.

"Miss Porter is now near seventy. She has suffered within the last two or three years from ill health, but she is still erect graceful, and majestic in person, and still possessed of admirable beauty of countenance. Her large dark eyes have a striking lambency of lustre, her smile inspires love in all who see her, and her habit of mind up to the time we last saw her, (three or four years ago,) was that of *reflecting the mood of others in conversation*, thinking never of herself, and endeavoring only to *make others shine*, and all this with a tact, a playfulness and simplicity, an occasional unconscious brilliancy and penetration, which have made her, up to seventy years of age, a most interesting, engaging, and lovely woman. Considering the extent of her charm, over old and young, titled and humble, masters and servants, we sincerely think we never have seen a woman so beloved and so fascinating. She is the idol of many different circles of very high rank, and passes her time in yielding, month after month, to pressing invitations from the friends who love her. The dowager queen Adelaide is one of her warmest friends, the highest families of nobility contend for her as a resident guest, distinguished and noble foreigners pay court to her invariably on arriving in England, she has been ennobled by a decree of the king of Prussia, and with all this weight of honor on her head, you might pass weeks with her (ignorant of her history) without suspecting her to be and born but to grace a contented mediocrity of station."

We know nothing more to the honor of the English nobility of this day, than that Jane Porter—such as she was—should have chosen and cherished the greater number of her friendships from among them. Utterly incapable of a servility or an obsequiousness as her gifted and lofty nature was always admitted to be, she still moved in the highest sphere of rank, with sympathies all expanded, and the imprint of congeniality with all around her, stamped upon countenance and mein. Yet she had mingled, more or less, with all classes, and knew the world well. Had she found it necessary to sacrifice the slighest shadow of purity or independence to retain her position, or had she believed, or conjectured, that purer or simpler natures were to be foundd in the ranks below, she was not one to hesitate or compromise for an instant. But, with the intuitive perceptions of genius, and a disposition as open as the day, she chose this for her sphere, and lived in it as one who had no thought or need of managements, either to belong to, or to grace it. The class of society, in a country, with which simple and proud genius finds itself most at home, is its superior and true nobility; and, that England's circles of high rank are so preferred, and so honored and brightened, by spirits like Jane Porter, is, we think, the evidence that proves most for England's present civilization and glory.

N. P. W.

STREET MUSICIANS.

[*From the Correspondent of the* (*London*) *Morning Chronicle.*]

I now come to the street musicians and street vocalists of London. These are a more numerous class than any other of the street performers that I have yet dealt with. The musicians are estimated at 1,000, and the balled singers at 250.

The street musicians are of two kinds—the skilful and the blind. The former obtain their money by the agreeableness of their performance, and the latter in pity for their affliction rather than admiration of their harmony. The blind street musicians, it must be confessed, belong generally to the rudest class of performers. Music is not used by them as a means of pleasing, but rather as a mode of soliciting attention. Such individuals are known in the "profession" by the name of "pensioners;" they have their regular rounds to make, and particular houses at which to call on certain days in the week, and from which they generally obtain a "small trifle." They form, however, a most peculiar class of individuals. They are mostly well known characters, and many of them have been performing in the streets of London for many years. They are also remarkable for the religious cast of their thoughts, and the comparative refinement of their tastes and feelings.

I shall begin with the more skilful class of street musicians. Among these are the London street bands, English and German—the Highland performers on the bagpipes, and a few others. First of the English street bands:

Concerning these, a respectacle man gave me the following details:

"I was brought up to the musical 'profession,' and have been a street performer twenty-two years, though I'm now only twenty-six. I sang and played the guitar in the streets with my mother when I was only four years old. We were greatly patronized by the nobility at that time. It was a good business when I was a child. A younger brother and I would go out into the streets for a few hours of an evening, from five to eight, and make seven or eight shillings the two of us. Ours was and is the highest class of street music. For the last ten years I have been a member of a street band. Our band is now four in number. I have been in bands of eight, and in some composed of as many as twenty-five; but a small band answers best for regularity. With eight in the band, it's not easy to get 3s. apiece on a fine day, and play all day too. I consider that there are 1,000 musicians now performing in the streets of London; and as very few play singly, 1,000 performers, not reckoning persons who play with niggers or such like, will give not quite 250 street bands. Four in number is a fair average for a street band; but I think the greater number of bands have more than four in them. All the better sort of these bands play at concerts, balls, parties, processions, and water excursions, as well as in the streets. The class of men in the street bands is, very generally, those who cannot read music, but play by the ear; and their being unable to read music, prevents their obtaining employment in theatres or places where a musical education is necessary; and yet numbers of street musicians (playing by the ear) are better instrumentalists than many educated musicians in the theatres. I only know a few who have left other businesses to become musicians. The great majority—nineteen-twentieths of us—I should say, have been brought regularly up to be street performers. Children now are taught very early, and seldom leave the profession for any other business. Every year the street musicians increase. The better sort are, I think, prudent men and struggle hard for a decent living. All the street performers of wind instruments are short-lived. Wind performers drink more, too, than the others. They must have their mouths wet, and they need some stimulant or restorative after blowing an hour in the streets. There are now twice as many wind as stringed instruments played in the streets; fifteen or sixteen years ago, there used to be more stringed instruments. Within that time new wind instruments have been used in the streets. Cornopeans, or corner-a-pistons, came into vogue about fourteen years ago; ophicleides about ten years ago (I'm speaking of the streets); and sax-horns about two years since. The cornopean has now quite superseded the bugle. The worst part of the street performers, in point of character, are those who play before or in public houses. They drink a great deal, but I never heard of them being charged with dishonesty. In fact, I believe, there's no honester set of men breathing than street musicians. The better class of musicians are nearly all married men, and they generally dislike to teach their wives music; indeed, in my band, and in similar bands, we wouldn't employ a man who was teaching his wife music, that she might play in the streets, and so be exposed to every insult and every temptation, if she's young and pretty. Many of the musicians' wives have to work very hard with their needles for the slop-shops, and earn very little in such employment; three shillings a week is reckoned good earnings, but it all helps. The German bands injure our trade much. They'll play for half what we ask. They are very mean, feed dirtily, and the best band of them, whom I met at Dover, I know slept three in a bed in a common lodging-house, one of the very lowest. They now block us out of all the country places to which we used to go in the summer. The German bands have now possession of the whole coast of Kent and Sussex, and wherever there are watering-places. I don't know anything about their morals, excepting that they don't drink. An English street performer in a good and respectable band will now average 25s. a week the year through, Fifteen years ago he could have made £3 a week. Inferior performers make from 12s. to 15s. a week. I consider Regent street and such places our best pitches. Our principal patrons in the parties' line are tradesmen and professional men, such as attorneys. 10s. a night is our regular charge."

Next come the German bands. I had the following statement concerning these from a young, flaxen-haired, and fresh-colored German, who spoke English very fairly:

"I am German, and have been six year in zis country. I was nearly fourteen when I come. I come from Oborfeld, eighteen miles from Hanover. I come because I would like so see how it was here. I heard zat London was a goot place for foreign music. London is as goot a place as I expect to find him. There was other six come over with me, boys and men. We come to Hull and play in ze country about half a year; we do middling, and zen we come to London. I didn't make money at first when I come; I had much to learn, but ze band, oh! it did well. We was seven. I play ze clarionet, and so did two others; two play French horns, one ze trombone, and one ze saxhorn. Sometimes we make 7s. or 8s. apiece in a day now, but the business is not so goot: I reckon 6s. a day is goot now. We never play at fairs, not for caravans. We play at private parties or public ball-rooms, and are paid so much a dance—sixpence a dance for ze seven of us. If zare is many dances it is goot; if not it is bad. We play sheaper zan ze English, and we don't spend so much. Ze English players insult us, but we don't care about that. Zey abuse us for playing sheap. I don't know what zair terms for dances are. I have saved money in zis country, but very little of it. I want to save enough to take me back to Hanover. We all live togezer, ze seven of us. We have three rooms to sleep in, and one to eat in. We are all single men but one; and his wife, a German woman, lives wiz us, and cooks for us. She ... for us to eat. We all join in housekeeping and lodging, and pay alike. Our lodging costs 2s. a week each; our board costs us about 15s. a week each; sometime rather less. But zat includes beer, and ze London beer is very goot, and sometime we drink a goot deal of it. We drink very little gin, but we live very well, and have goot meals every day. We play in ze streets, and I sink most places are alike to us. Ladies and gentlemen are our best friends; ze working people give us very little. We play opera tunes chiefly. We don't associate with any Englishmen. Zare are three public-houses kept by Germans, where we Germans meet. Sugar bakers and other trades are of ze number. There are now five German brass bands, with thirty-seven performers in zem, reckoning our own, in London. Our band lives near Whitechapel. I sink zare is one or two more German bands in ze country. I sink my countrymen, some of them, save money; but I have not saved much yet."

The Highlanders, with their bagpipes, are next in order, A well-looking young man, dressed in full Highland costume, with modest manners, and of slow speech, as if translating his words from the Gaelic before he uttered them, gave me these details:

"I am a native of Inverness, and a Grant. My father was a soldier and a piper in the 42d. In my youth I was shepherd in the hills until my father was unable to support me any longer. He had ninepence a day pension for seventeen years' service, and had been thrice wounded. He taught me and my brother the pipes; he was too poor to have us taught any trade, so we started on our own accounts. We travelled up to London, having only our pipes to depend upon. We came in full Highland dress. The tartan is cheap there, and we mak' it up our selves. My dress as I sit here, without my pipes, would cost about £4 in London. Our mithers spin the tartan in Inverness-shire, and the dress comes to may-be 30s. and is better than the London. My pipes cost me three guineas new. It's beeween five and six years since I first came to London, and I was twenty-four last November. When I started I thought of making a fortune in London, there was such great talk of it in Inverness-shire, as a fine place with plenty of money; but when I came I found the difference. I was rather a novelty at first, and did pretty well. I could make £1 a week then; but now I can't make 2s. a day, not even in summer. There are so many Irishmen going about London, and dressed as Scotch Highlanders, that I really think I could do better as a piper even in Scotland. A Scotch family will sometimes give me a shilling or two when they find out I am a Scotchman. Chelsea is my best place, where there are many Scotchmen. There are now only five real Scotch Highlanders playing the bagpipes in the streets of London, and seven or eight Irishmen, that I know of. The Irishmen do better than I do, because they have more face. We have our own rooms. I pay 4s. a week for an empty room, and have my ain furniture. We are all married men, and have no connexion with any other street musicians. 'Tullochgorum,' 'Moneymusk,' 'The Campbells are coming,' and 'Lord Macdonald's Reel,' are among the performances best liked in London. I'm very seldom insulted in the streets; and then mostly by being called an Irishman, which I don't like; but I pass it off just as weel as I can."

Of the Irish pipes, a well-dressed middle-aged man, of good appearance, wearing large green spectacles, led by a young girl, his daughter, gave me the following account:

"I was eleven years old when I lost my sight from cold, and I was brought up to the musical profession, and practised it several years in Ireland, of which country I am a native. I was a man of private property—small property—and only played occasionally at the gentle-people's places; and then more as a guest—yes, more indeed than professionally. In 1838 I married, and began to give concerts regularly; I was the performer, and played only on the union pipes at my concerts. I'm acknowledged to be the best performer in the world, even by my own craft—excuse what seems self-praise. The union pipes are the old Irish pipes improved. In former times there was no chromatic scale; now we have eight keys to the chanter, which produce the chromatic scale as on the flute, and so the pipes are improved in the melody, and more particularly in the harmony. We have had fine performers of old. I may mention Caroll O'Dally, who flourished in the fifteenth century, and was the composer of the air that the Scotch want to steal from us—Robin Adair, which is 'Aileen ma ruen,' or 'Ellen my dear.' My concerts in Ireland answered very well indeed, but the famine reduced me so much that I was fain to get to England with my family, wife and four children—and in this visit I have been disappointed, completely so. Now I'm reduced to play in the streets, and make very little by it. I may average 15s. in the week in summer, and not half that in winter. There are many of my countrymen now in England, playing the pipes, but I don't know one respectable enough to associate with, so I keep to myself; and so I cannot tell how many there are."

A very handsome man, swarthy even for a native of Bengal, with his black glossy hair most picturesquely disposed, alike on his head and in his whiskers and moustache, gave me, after an oriental salute, the following statement. His teeth were exquisitely white, and his laugh or smile lighted up his countenance to an expression of great intelligence. His dress was a garb of dark brown cloth, fitting close to his body and extending to his knee. His trousers were of the same colored cloth, and he wore a girdle of black and white cotton round his waist. He was accompanied by his son (whom he sometimes addressed in Hisdostanee), a round-faced boy, with large bright black eyes and rosy cheeks. The father said:

"I was born in Calcutta, and was Mussulman—my parents was mussulman—but I Christian now. I have been in dis contree ten year. I come first as servant to military officer, an Englishman. I live wit him in Scotlend six seven mont. He left Scotland, saying he come back, but he not, and in a mont I hear he dead, and den I come London. London is very great place, and Indian city little if you look upon London. I use tink it plenty pleasure look upon London, as de great government place, but now I look upon London and it is plenty bad pleasure. I wish very often return to my own contree, where every ting sheap, living sheap, rice sheap. I suffer from climate in dis contree. I suffer dis winter more dan ever I did. I have no flannels, no drawer, no waistcoat, and have cold upon my chest. It is now near five year I come London. I try get service, but no get service. I have character, but not from my last master. He could not give me; he dead ven I want it. I put up many insult in dis contree. I struck sometime in street. Magistrate punish man gave me blow dat left mark on my chin here. Gentlemen sometime save me from harm, sometime not. De boys call me black dis or de oder. Wen I get no service I not live, and I not beg in street, so I buy tom-tom for 10s. De man want 30s. De 10s. my last money left, and I start to play in streets for daily bread. I beat tom-tom and sing song about greatness of God, in my own language. I had den wife, Engliswoman, and dis little boy. I done pretty well first wid tom-tom, but it is very bad to do it now. When I began first I make 3s. 4s. 5s. or 6s. a day. It was something new den, but nine or ten monts it was something old, and I took less and less, until now I hardly get piece of bread. I sometime get few shilling from two or three picture-men, who draw me. It is call model. Anyting for honest bread. I must not be proud. I cannot make above 6s. a week of tom-tom in street. Dere is, well as I know, about fifty of my contreemen playing and begging in streets of London. Dose who sweep crossing are Malay; some Bengal. Many are impostor, and spoil spectable man. My contreemen live in lodging houses; often many are plenty blackguard lodging-houses, and dere respectable man is always insult. I have room for myself dis tree mont, and cost me tree shillings and six pennies a week; it is not own furniture; dey burn my coke, coal, and candle too. My wife would make work wid needle, but dere is no work for her, poor ting. She servant when I marry her. De little boy make jump in my contree's way wen I play tom-tom—he too little to dance—he six year. Most of my contreemen in street have come as Lascar, and not go back for bosen, and bosen mate, and flog. So dey stay for beg, or sweep, or anyting. Dey are never pickpocket dat I ever hear of."

HOW TO MAKE HOME UNHEALTHY.

FRESH AIR.

Philosophers tell us that the breath of man is poisonous; that when collected in a jar it will kill mice but when accumulated in a room it will kill men Of this there are a thousand and one tales. I decline alluding to the Black hole of Calcutta, but will take a specimen dug up by some sanitary gardener from Horace Walpole's letters. In 1742 a set of jolly Dogberries, virtuous in their cups, resolved that fortunate and shut-them in with doors and windows fastened. The prisoners exhausted breath in screaming. One poor girl said she was worth eighteenpence, and cried that she would give it gladly for a cup of water. Dogberry was deaf. In the morning four were brought out dead, two dying, and twelve in a dangerous condition. This is an argument in favor of the new police. I don't believe in ventilation; and will undertake here, in a few paragraphs, to prove it nonsense. At the very outset, let us take the ventilation mongers on their own ground. People of this class are always referring us to nature. Very well, we will be natural. Do you believe, sir, that the words of that dear lady, when she said so loved you everlastingly, were poisonous air rendered sonorous by the action of a larynx, tongue, teeth, palate and, lips? No indeed; ladies at any rate, although they claim a double share of what the cherubs want, and possibly these humys, now three times spoken of, are the concealed and missing portion of the cherubim, torn from them by the fair sex in some ancient struggle,——There now, I am again shipwrecked on the wondrous mountains. I was about to say that ladies, who in some things surpass the cherubs, equal them in others; like them, are vocal with ethereal tones; their breath is "the sweet south, stealing across a bed of violets," and that's not poisonous, I fancy.—Well, I believe the chemists have not as yet detected any difference between a man's breath and a woman's; therefore neither of them can be hurtful. But let us grant the whole position. Breath is poisonous, but nature made it so, nature intended it to be so. Nature made man a social animal, and therefore designed that many breaths should be commingled. Why do you, lovers of the natural, object to this arrangement?

Now let us glance at the means adopted to get rid of this our breath, this breath of which our words are made, libelled as poisonous. Ventilation is of two kinds, mechanical and physical. I will say something about each.

Mechanical ventilation is that which machinery produces. One of the first recorded ventilators of this kind was not much more extravagant in its charges upon house-room than some of which we hear in 1850. In 1663, H. Schymitz published the scheme of a great fanner, which, descending through the ceiling, moved to and fro pendulum-wise, within a mighty slit. The movement of the fanner was established by a peace of clockwork more simple than compact; it occupied a complete chamber overhead, and was set in noisy motion by a heavy weight The weight ran slowly down, pulling its rope until it reached the parlor floor; so that a gentleman incautiously falling asleep under it after his dinner, might awake to find himself a pancake. Since that time we have had no lack of ingenuity at work on forcing-pumps, and sucking pumps, and screws.—The screws are admirable on account of the unusually startling nature, now and then, of their results. Not long ago, a couple of fine screws were adapted to a public building; one was to take air out, the other was to turn air in. The first screw, unexpectedly perverse, wheeled its air inwards; so did the second, but instead of directing its draught upwards, it blew down with a great gust of contempt upon the horrified experimentalist. There is something of a screw principle in those queer little wheels fastened occasionally in our windows and on footmen's hats—query, are those the ventilating hats?—the rooms are as much ventilated by these little tins as they would be by an air from 'Don Giovanni.' I will say nothing about pumps; nor indeed need we devote more space to mechanical contrivances, since it is from other modes of ventilation that our cause had most to fear. Only one quaint speculation may be mentioned. It is quite certain that in the heats of India, air is not cooled by fanning, nor is it cooled judiciously by damping it. Professor Piazzi Smyth last year suggested this idea; Compress air by a forcing-pump into a close vessel, by so doing you increase its heat; then suddenly allow it to escape into a room, it will expand so much as to be cold, and, mixing with the other air in the apartment, cool the whole mass. This is the last new theory, which has not yet, I think, been tried in practice.

Now, Physical Ventilation—that which affects to imitate the processes of nature—is a more dangerously odious business. Its chief agent is Heat. In nature, it is said the Sun is Lord High Ventilator. He rarefies the air in one place by his heat, elsewere permits cold and lets the air be dense; the thin air rises, and the dense air rushes to supply its place, so we have endless winds and currents, Nature's ventilating works. It is incredible that sane men should have thought this system fit for imitation. It is a failure. Look at the hot department, where a traveller sometimes has to record that he lay gasping for two hours upon his back untill some one could find some water for him somewhere.—Let us call that Africa, and who can say that he enjoys the squalls of wind rushing towards the desert? Let us think of the Persian and the Punic wars, when fleets which had not learned to play bo-peep with ventilating processes, strewed Mediterranean sands with wrecks and corpses. Some day we shall have these mimics of Dame Nature content with nothing smaller than a drawing-room typhoon to carry off the foul air of an evening party; dowagers' caps, young ladies' scarfs, cards, pocket-handkerchiefs, will whirl upon their blast, and then they will be happy. Now their demands are modest, but they mean hurricanes, rely upon it; we must not let ourselves be lulled into a false security.

A fire, they say, is in English houses necessary during a large part of the year, is constant during that season when we are most closely shut up in our rooms. The fire, they say is our most handy and most efficacious ventilator. O yes, we know something about that: we know too well that the fire makes an ascending current, and that the cold air rushes from our doors and windows to the chimney, as from surrounding countries to the burning desert. We know that very well, because every such current is a draught; one cuts into our legs, one gnaws about our necks, and all our backs are cold. We are in the condition of a pious man in Fox's "Martyrs," about whom I used to read with childish reverence, that after a great deal of frying, during which he had not been turned by the Inquisition-Soyer, he lifted up his voice in verse:

> "This side enough is toasted;
> Then turn me, tyrant, and eat,
> And see whether raw or roasted
> I make the better meat."

We all of us, over our Christmas fires, present this choice of raw or roast, and we don't thank your principles of ventilation for it. Then say these pertinacious people that they also disapprove of draughts; but they don't seem to mind boring holes in a gentleman's floor, or knocking through the sacred walls of Home. This is their plan.

They say that you should have, if possible, a pipe connected with the air without, passing behind the cheeks of your stove, and opening under your fire, about, on, or close before your hearth. They say that from this source the fire will be supplied so well, that it will no longer suck in draughts over your shoulders and between your legs from remote corners of the room. They say, moreover, that if this aperture be large enough, it will supply all the fresh air needed in your room, to replace that which has ascended and passed out, through a hole which you are to make in your chimney near the ceiling. They say that an up-draught will clear this air away so quietly, that you will not need even a valve: though you may have one fitted and made ornamental at a trifling cost. They would recommend you to make another hole in the wall opposite your chimney, near the ceiling also, to establish a more effectual current in the upper air. Then, they say you will have fresh air, and no draughts. Fresh air, yes, at the expense of a hole in the floor and two holes in the wall. We might get fresh air, gentlemen, on a much larger scale by pulling the house down. They say, you should not mind the holes. Windows are not architectural beauties, yet we like them for admitting light; and some day it may strike us that the want of ventilators is a neighborfolly to the want of windows.

This they suggest as the best method of adapting our old houses to their new ideas. New houses they would have so built as to include this system of ventilation in their first construction, and so include it as to make it more effectual. But really, if people want to know how to build what are called well-ventilated houses, they must not expect me to tell them; let them buy Mr. Hosking's book on "The proper Regulation of Buildings in Towns."

Up to this date, as I am glad to know, few architects have heard of ventilation. Under church galleries we doze through the most lively sermons, in public meetings we pant after air, but we have architecture; perhaps an airy style sometimes attempts to comfort us. These circumstances are possibly unpleasant at the time, but they assist the cause of general unhealthiness. Long may our architects ing, steaming apparatus. May they dispense, doctored air, in draughts and mixtures.

Fresh Air in certain favored places—as in Sm field, for example—is undoubtedly an object of sire. It is exceedingly to be regretted, if the rum be correct, that the result of a Commission of In ry threatens, by removing Smithfield, to destroy only sound lung this metropolis possesses. wholesome nature of the smell of cows is quite torious. Humbolt tells of a sailor who was dyin fever in the close hold of a ship. His end bein sight, some comrades brought him out to di What Humboldt calls "the fresh air" fell upon and instead of dying, he revived, eventually ge well. I have no doubt that there was a cow board, and the man smelt her. Now, if so grea effect was produced by the proximity of one how great must be the advantage to the sick in don of a central, crowded Cattle-Market!—*Lon Examiner*.

Gleanings from Foreign Publication

The Heroine of the Heart of Mid Loth—The *Daily Post* of Thursday, August 17th, must be a priceless treasure in the eye of the colle for two remarkable paragraphs with which it is riched. On one of them was founded the most pat and popular of Scott's novels—The Heart of Mid thian. The story of the girl "of a fine soul," ev told by the paragraphist, is touching. The comm cation is dated "Edinburgh, August 20th 1738."—abel Walker, under sentence of death at Dumfrie child-murder, has actually got a remission. This happy creature was destitute of friends, and had to apply for her but an only sister, a girl of a fine that overlooked the improbability of success, alone, went to London to address the Great, and s so well (*sic*) that she got for her, first a reprieve, now a remission. Such another instance of on friendship can scarce be shown; it well deserve attention of the greatest, who could not but admi virtue, and on that account engage in her caus *Household Words*.

——Horace Vernet is painting at Versail most singular picture. The guillotine occupies a minent space. A heap of headless bodies are about, but the axe is at rest, for the executioner is posed to have beheaded himself. The Cholera is personified, singing triumphant airs; Death is s on the guillotine, reading the last number of *La du Peuple*, the handle of his scythe forms the st a *drapeau rouge*, on which is written, "Repub Sociale."

——According to the Paris *Constitutionnel*, L Philippe is afflicted with an intestinal schirrous tum and symptoms of dropsy are said to have declared t selves.

——Hayti.—A Paris tailor has sent out to Hay mantle which the Emperor Soloque purposes we on the day of his coronation. It is of crimson v shot with gold, and is richly ornamented with pre stones. The price of it is 2000*l*.

——A Polite Communication.—Robert Step son Carr, a laboring man, residing at Leeds, los wife a few months ago, became disconsolate and dr ed himself. In his hat was found a piece of pa on one side of which was legibly written his full and address, and on the other side the following sage:—"My compliments to the jury, and this is a case of insanity."

——Disbursements of the Royal House for One Year—For bread, 2050*l*; butter, b cheese, and eggs, 4976*l*.; milk and cream, 14 butcher's meat, 9472*l*.; poultry, 3633*l*.; fish. 1 grocery, 4644*l*.; oilery, 1793*l*.; fruit and confectio 1741*l*.; wine, 4850*l*.; liqueurs, &c., 1643*l*.; ale beer, 2811*l*., wax candles, 1977*l*; tallow candles, lamps, 4166*l*.; fuel, 6849*l*.; china, glass, &c, 1 linen, 1085*l*.. washing, table linen, &c. 3130*l*.; br ry, 890*l*.—*The Reformer*.

——Before following Mr. Carlyle (remarks the *don Inquirer* in a review of the "Latter-day Pa lets") into the "redtape jungle," and introducin "doleful creatures" that tenant it, we must not to notice a blot, which deforms the opening pages Pamphlet on "Downing-street." Our author i victim of a strange monomania. On the subje Negro Emancipation, he is positiv ely mad. E hall has turned his brain—certain aspects of ph thropy, as there presented, having disgusted hin vents his spleen relentlessly on his colored bret Even in a book on the political wants of Englan must go out of his way to renew his attack on the happy race, which, through long ages, has endure utterable wrong from the cruelty and avarice of ized man; and those sufferings, if nothing else, s secure for it respectful sympathy. To us the something unspeakably mournful in this perversi genius.

——Happy Families.—A proprieter of a "H Family" exhibition tells the correspondent of the nicle, that the animals are principally trained by tinued kindness and petting, and "studying the n of the creatures." Hundreds "have tried their han happy families and have failed. The cat has kille mice, the hawks have killed the birds, the dogs, the and even the cats, the rats birds, and even one and indeed, it was anything but a Happy Family. By system we never have a mishap, and have had an eight or nine years in the cage—until thay've di age indeed. In our present cage we have 54 bird animals, and of 17 different kinds, 3 cats, 2 dogs (rier and a spaniel), 2 monkeys, 2 magpies, 2 jacke 2 jays, 10 startlings (some of them talk), 6 pig 2 hawks, 2 barn fowls, 1 screech owl, 5 common-s rats, 5 white rats (a novelity), 8 guinea pigs, 2 ra (1 wild and 1 tame), 1 hedgehog, and 1 tortoise all these the rat is the most difficult animal to ma member of a 'Happy Family.' Among birds, the l The easiest trained animal is a monkey; and the ea trained bird, a pigeon. They live together in cages all night, and sleep in a stable unattende any one."

——Spur Money.—In a curious tract publish 1598, under the title of *the Children of the C stript and whipt*, we have the following passag "Wee think it very necessarye that every quo shoulde bring with him to churche a Testament in lishe, and turne in everie chapter as it daily rea som other good and holy prayer booke, rather spend their tyme in talk and hunting after spur ney, whereon they set their whole mindes, an often abuse dyvers if they do not bestowe somewha them." In 1625, the Dean of the Chapel Royal is an order by which it was decreed—That if anie K or other persone entitled to wear spurs enter the c pell in that guise, he shall pay to ye quiristers th customed fine; but if he command ye youngest q ter to repeat his gamut, and he faile in ye so d the said knight or other, shall not pay ye fine." curious extract I copied from the check book o Chapel Royal. Within my recollection his Grac Duke of Wellington (who by the way is an exce musician) entered the Royal Chapel "booted and s red," and was of course called upon for the fine; his Grace, calling upon the youngest chorister t peat his gamut, and the urchin failing the impost not demanded.—Edward F. Rimbault.—*Notes Queries*.

——An Author's Confessions.—An author enjoys great celebrity in the Seven Dials, has mad following "confessions" to the metropolitan co pondent of the *Morning Chronicle*: "The knowledge I have, I have picked up bit by bit, so I hardly know how I have come by it. I certa knew my letters before I left home, and I have got rest off the dead walls and out of the ballads and pers I have been selling. I write most of the New ballads now for the printers in the Dials, and, inc anything that turns up. I get a shilling for a ' of verses written by the wretched culprit the previous to his execution.' I wrote Courvoisier's rowful lamentation. I called it 'A Woice from Gaol.' I wrote a pathetic ballad on the respite of nette Meyers. I did the helegy, too, on Rush's ex tion. It was supposed, like the rest, to be writte the culprit himself, and was particular penitent did'nt write that to order—I knew they would wa copy of verses from the culprit. The publisher it over, and said, 'That's the thing for the street lic.' I only got 1s. for Rush. Indeed, they are al same price, no matter how popular they may be wrote the life of Manning in verse. Besides the have written the lament of Calcraft the Hangman the decline of his trade, and many political songs.

——The *London Inquirer*, in an excellent ar upon the Cuban expedition, says with great trut "The late piratical expedition to Cuba was underta by a gang of desperadoes, headed by a leader of Sp ish blood, not of Saxon race. From the first, we sidered it a mere buccaneering descent, and believ would fail in doing any more than plundering a places. When we, however, reflect on what has the fate of Texas, California, and part of Mexico, are far from being confident that the late will be last expedition to Cuba. It will, probably, be the under any but an Anglo-American leader. Suc leader may find much greater aid than we at pre suppose. He may even receive arms and men u such forms as may enable him to quote, in his jus cation, the British Government, in its conduct form ly, in the liberation of the Old Spanish Colonies. recent treaty between England and America resp ing the project of a Nicaraguan canal, and var other circumstances, prove that there is accord harmony between both Governments But wha apprehend is those combinations of desperadoes ruffians who will, in all probability, go hereafter f in quest of plunder. There are many such men i